

THE PROPERTY OF

Richard B. Gregg

General Notes, XVIII

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Richard B. Gregg

Suite 8

543 Brighton St.

Boston,

Mass.

1

July 13, 1932. Indian merchants & all Indians  
are learning that appeals & protests and  
indignation are not enough. Action is  
necessary, and non-cooperation is the only  
action effectively open to them. So the  
W. civilization destroys itself. of X -  
"he that loveth the world" etc.

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Khadi is a symbol and perhaps a  
necessity for middle class & upper class  
to give up their parasitism in fact &  
deed as well as in mind and feeling with  
the manual workers. Actually their  
only safety. He that loveth his life  
(in unity of all) shall save it.

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This time, when the B. want to begin  
negotiating, they have nothing to offer,

like R T C in London, that the other  
Indians want or that the world sees as  
change over what is now offered &  
~~for~~ which the Indians have rejected.  
So it will be easy for G. to refuse.  
Perhaps this partly explains the nota-  
tion of Garrett in a N. Statesman article  
last year. ~~the~~  
—

If he get going & begin slaying on  
big scale, all the Indians in joint service  
will begin leaving, & then things will  
move quickly, all at once, — peasant  
revolt, police & troop mutinies, Br.  
civilian panic, Congress power  
coming out in open, Princes scared,  
Br. retreating to Stales, Princes getting  
rose at them.

Perhaps science is also a scheme of values.  
Religion is such.

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When does a habit become slavery? What  
the Br call "keeping steady" is in part  
perhaps a sign of slavery to old ideas.

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"War is said to be the only mysticism left."

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"There is no known contraceptive which is  
at once generally applicable, non-ignominious,  
aesthetically adequate, entirely safe, and cheap".  
This criticism also applies to spectacles,  
false teeth, aids for the deaf, and artificial  
limbs.

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The Economist (London) of Nov 28, 1931  
has an article on R.T.C. and says that  
Britain has £400 millions of investments in India.

The 2d R.T.C. of Br. Govt treated the Indian  
industrialists with <sup>almost</sup> contempt, tried not to  
allow any discussion of the 4 essentials,  
patently played divide & rule, gave no  
advance on the 1st R.T.C. and no concrete  
fraternizing even of that. So it did not  
strengthen the Indian Moderates, did not  
flatter the Princes, split Muslims (in  
conjunction with events in Kashmir, Red  
Shirt matters and M young men and M Congress  
men). Gandhi has proved to Indian Moderates  
that all going together to London is not  
enough. He can now say to them 'I have  
tried your way, now you try mine'. The  
income tax rise in India will alienate more  
of the middle classes as well as peasants.

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Wingfield-Stratton's book is said to be  
weak on the constructive side (re

pacifism). So are they all.

Another thought - there should be a  
limit to the use of gout.

In my pamphlet mention court & legal  
procedure & patriotic societies & monuments  
& ceremonies to 'unknown soldier' as  
symbols of militarism.

The Br (cf S.K. Ratcliffe in Dec 1931 <sup>29</sup>Graphic) make the mistake of thinking of Gandhi as an individual and not as a leader of the peasants. They criticize G's tactics and tell how that cannot be done in London. But the weight of G's following, if nothing else, will make his proposals very practical. Br cannot see the issues outside their own concepts of politics. Not deep enough.

Spirit is deeper than intellect.

Peace is a by-product of justice. i.  
strive for justice —

Editor of The Economist, 8 Boulevard  
Fleet St, London, E. C. 4.

Because Indians & English have so  
many differences between their values &  
customs there is greater necessity for formal  
cooperation between the two to run the Govt  
of India than was the case, for example,  
with Ireland. So when the formal cooperation  
ends, the result will be complete separation  
& complete loss by Br. Since Muslims  
are in N India along the land frontier, the  
loss of their cooperation is serious strategically  
as the militants think, and so

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the militants will be most alarmed  
and discouraged.

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Education is to develop certain powers, to develop certain values, & certain blocks of knowledge, & certain attitudes of mind (lies). These last are controlled largely by the values.

The powers begin at the start and run all through. The values come mostly earlier and the special knowledge mostly later.

Elementary education develops powers of memory, observation, application, and teaches the children the instruments of further learning, i.e. reading, writing & math & something about how to develop their minds (i.e. psychology of a special sort). Reading and writing are not so important in a civilization where knowledge is handed down

by word of mouth.

The pleasure of Br. critics in Hindu  
Holiday by J. K. Acharya, Chatterjee,  
is an indication of their state of mind.  
They are trying to fortify their sense of  
superiority toward those whom they  
are about to lose control over.

New Statesman & Nation, 10 Great Queen St.  
Kingsway, London, W.C. 2.

A good review of Vol I of Collected Papers  
C. S. Pearce in The Brit. Rev. of Literature  
for Nov 12, 1932.

If I ever write an article about Gandhi  
it should emphasize his scientific attitude  
— always experimenting. of "My Experiments"

with Truth" and of his talk with me about the lack of courage among western scientists.

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It is possible that after the end of the power in India, a considerable section of Americans will, like the B's., try to forget & ignore it, because they too will realize that it strikes at heart of their scale of values.

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The B's. govt offering outright money power for Indian loyalty is sheer bribery and an open confession of moral inability to win trust.

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The second R.T.C. compelled a greater realism in world opinion re Indians. The world now values that the have been

trying to avoid a concrete decision, and  
that words are not enough.

Mr D & many Englishmen think that  
India is too divided communally to permit  
a strong Federation. Now that communal  
differences are doing the B's are cooling  
off total idea of Federation.

Notes from "The Relevance of Christianity"  
by F. R. Barry (?) . Herbert, London,  
1931. 10 s. 6 d. :-

"The genius of the Christian spirit  
is to throw moral choices and decisions  
quite relentlessly back on 'individuals'."

"Christ gave us knowledge about some  
thing objective - the source of value, the  
canon or measuring rod by which we  
can judge and arrange the facts of  
mortal existence and the, changing

materials of the world's life."

---

Walter Dippman's philosophy is  
 "Stoicism in plus form."

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Indian  
 Govt communiques have to pretend that  
 all is going well in order to show that  
 govt policy is right, and yet they  
 also have to admit enough trouble so  
 as to support the existence of the Ordin-  
 ances and extraordinary measures. So  
 some part of the truth leaks out.

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Re V R book. As soon as people  
 use violence they are admitting division  
 and therefore fear as well as anger. Because  
 anger & fear are so similar, I only need  
 extra physical power of the other side to  
 turn my anger into fear. Then I am

defeated early. ∴ all poor people will be defeated if they get angry. The only weapon of the weak is N.V.R. The upper class have not only greater force of violence in their control but also usually have control of <sup>prevailing</sup> value systems and symbols. Inasmuch as, with individuals as well as groups, there may easily turn out to be another person or group with greater physical force at its disposal, the only <sup>sure</sup> weapon for any person or group, rich as well as poor is N.V.R.

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Rossanti gives us this, <sup>the</sup> Buddhist principles:-

1. Ahimsa; 2. Satya; 3. Asteya; 4. Aparigraha
- अहिंसा      सत्य      अस्तेय      अपरिग्रह

Gandhi added Karma  
कर्म

# FINDS LIFE DEPENDS ON GROWTH HORMONE

Dr. Evans Tells Anatomists He  
Has Proved Pituitary Fluid  
Stimulates Adrenal Gland.

*N.Y. Times March 26, 1932.*  
THEORY ON HEARING UPSET

Johns Hopkins Research Casts  
Doubt on the Importance of  
Ear Membrane Vibration.

## GRAFTED NERVES STUDIED

Scientists Report They Tend to Act  
Independently—Thyroid Linked  
to Respiratory Ills.

A discovery of importance concerning the ductless glands, and results of other research which tend to upset commonly accepted theories on the process of hearing, were announced at yesterday's meetings of the forty-eighth session of the American Association of Anatomists.

At a dinner of the association last evening at the Hotel Pennsylvania Dr. Herbert McLean Evans, president of the association, announced the discovery that the growth-stimulating secretion of the pituitary gland is necessary as a stimulus for the adrenal gland, without which life is impossible.

He said that although it had been known that the tissue of the outer layer of the adrenal gland, the secretion of which is so necessary to life, withered away when the pituitary gland was extracted, and could be restored again by injecting the substance of this gland into the system, it had not been whether the growth hormone of the pituitary or the secretion that stimulates the reproductive system was the one that restored

the tissue. The discovery that it is the growth hormone was made in his laboratory at the University of California, where Dr. Evans is Hertzian Professor of Biology.

He also described how he proved his isolation of the growth hormone by administering it to animals from which the pituitary had been removed and which had fallen into a condition of ill health and undernourishment. These animals became normal-sized, sleek-coated and healthy by means of the "growth hormone cure," he said, but had undeveloped reproductive systems. He suggested that the alleged dangers of overpopulation and the reproduction of inferior types could be averted "by transferring this achievement to the human race."

Last September Dr. William Engelbach of New York City reported the administration, with beneficial results, of Dr. Evans's growth hormone to undersized children. He reported on the cases at a meeting of the American Chemical Society.

### Hearing Theories Questioned.

Ironically enough, Left prints a letter from Arthur D. Ficke which draws the line sharply between the artist and the propagandist in literature. Declaring that "the heart of literature is in those simple enigmas of courage and love and death which are absolutely individual, which have nothing to do with the social revolution and which are entirely unaffected by any changes in the external world order," Mr. Ficke writes:—

"Before we are all swallowed up by the mob let us at least have a moment of frank conversation together. It is my solemn belief that the mob hates you as much as it hates me; the mob wishes in its deep heart to destroy all honest artists, all experimenters—for the good and unanswerable reason that such persons are, and must always be, lonely, unsocial and slightly contemptuous spiritual aristocrats. That is a condition of the functioning of the creative mind, and the mob detests the fact with a quite comprehensible fury. So I think it will be amusing when, on a day, the editors of the Left and I are lined up together in front of a firing squad and are shot against the same brick wall—for such good but contradictory reasons."

Marxian writers contend that art and social propaganda can exist side by side because every artist expresses his class culture. The opposition replies that artists are invariably subversive of the social order and that the present opposition to middle-class culture is just another intellectual attitude.

## Dr. Peng-Chun Chang Will Speak at Ford Hall Forum

Dr. Peng-Chun Chang, professor of philosophy, Nankai University, Tientsin, will speak at the Ford Hall Forum Sunday evening, on "The Spirit of Chinese Philosophy—a Challenge to Modernism."



Dr. Peng-Chun Chang

Dr Chang is visiting professor at the University of Chicago and was formerly secretary of the Chinese Education Commission to the United States.

Dr. Chang will tell what is taking place in Manchuria today by an analysis of the practical significance of the transition in China in the modern world. There will

July 14

The letters from an English "Spectator" and "An Irishman" in a June issue of *Times of India* show that the contest is now beginning between <sup>the</sup> trade interests and those of finance & army.

An article in Bombay *Times of India* states that the struggle is a stalemate & ∴ urges peace. But it is <sup>however</sup> not a stalemate, ~~Congress~~ slowly it goes. Congress strength is steadily increasing & that of Govt steadily decreasing. The *Times of India* editorial on the "Army office" bleeding India states "shows that Govt finance is feeling the house very

heavily. Indian Govt cannot continue  
unless it pays less to G. R.

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The communal troubles in Madras  
State will make Princes very officious  
at Madras Conference about Federation.  
~~Q~~

One reason why the struggle goes slowly  
is because Gandhi's work was not strong  
enough.

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In 1931 winter Mr. Stanley Baldwin  
said much in Parl (in R.T.C.) about the  
necessity for unanimity between all  
parties re Indian matters: "Break up  
that unanimity and no man in this  
house as Prime Minister or Secretary  
of State has any chance of coping  
with the Government of India."

As soon as I separate myself from God  
(~~the~~ life of my inner self) then I  
become afraid of events in this earthly  
life. When afraid I get angry and  
cruel. But if I retain awareness of my  
unity with God then I must live it  
in detailed unity with all men.

Values are the centre of sovereignty. Combine  
them with decentralized village economy.  
May not large-scale organization be the  
cause of the instability and fluctuations  
(cycles) of capitalism?

Re American Indians see Austin -  
"Waterless Mountain", and Mary Austin  
"Some Experiences Facing Death".

To envision the fruits of action

is in part a looking at the matter in 2-way time, like not expecting the preparation for action to be swift. But the implications. But mainly this is a wonder of agony.

People whose ruling classes were as cruel as the Pr were in starving Germany after the war by blockade, would certainly be very brutal toward a conquered colored people (Indians)  $\therefore$  We can be sure that India will become united against England.

Was English policy in starving Germany to try to take her heart out so badly that she would not dare have a revolution? People who are gradually starved lose energy for violence. But need not lose energy enough to say

no, especially when their whole mode of  
values is different from the conquerors.  
Another good point for N.V.A.

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Is there any evidence to show  
that dental caries is hereditary?

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Somewhere Sir S. Hoare admitted  
that there were relatively few cases  
of visiting in India.

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New Statesman & Nation Feb 6, 1932.

"As the world becomes more of a family,  
the different members of the family  
must expect criticism when they  
misbehave."

To "diplose" means to feel uneasy  
because the action in question

tends to come near revealing our own  
hypocrisy & inconsistencies valued to the  
world.

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It is quite possible that a failure at  
Ottawa would furnish the impetus to  
an organized movement on the Cabinet  
unity, beginning among Liberals &  
supported by Solon.

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Be hoped that eventually the  
Congress, like the Dail in Ireland, would  
become "a small but irreconcilable  
minority" see Round Table (London)  
March 1932. "The Results of the R.T.C."  
The two articles on India in this number  
in tone & substance indicate that the  
author, - perhaps it is typical of the  
Be in India, - took to repression

out of a feeling of desperation and  
'humble bugs, give 'em Hell' without  
knowing what would be left to do in  
case of failure. Such articles in England  
tend to prolong <sup>the</sup> support of the experiment  
& make the complete rupture &  
failure of the policy all the more.  
The tone of the June 1932 number of  
the Round Table confirms this  
impression. — Much more in it

Machinery results logically in over-  
management & rationalization & technical-  
official unemployment. That is cured  
only by increased sales i.e. foreign  
trade. But the competition increases,  
the trade falls off. The countries  
which have the least power resources

suffer to the benefit of those more highly mechanized.

Employers assume that a larger market will produce more wages. U. S. S. assumes that machinery will produce leisure. F. & L. assume that machinery will produce more employment. Every ~~whether~~ <sup>whether</sup> any of these have worked out as in practice.

A defect about cooperatives is their dependence on banks. In India this would mean Rs. funds & ∴ more subservience to Rs.

U. S. S. says to get machinery first and then win control over finance & industry later so as to win the leisure which logically is available by use of machinery. Gandhi advocates first getting the confidence of

the people by khadi and other reforms  
and increasing their economic power and  
self-dependence; then win control by N.V.R.,  
and then and not till then consider whether  
the nation wants big machinery & how  
much etc. Machinery gives power. Why  
give it first to the present masters & then  
try to wrest away power later? Why  
not develop what power you can by  
adequate use of solar energy, and  
raise the <sup>"</sup>standard of ~~the~~ living of  
the people & also their self-confidence.

Don't divorce the I.C. program from  
N.V.R.

Similiar's logic makes him overlook  
the other factors which may prevent  
the possible scheme from becoming  
actual to the workers. That inter-  
ference has helped effectively so far.

Medieval civilisation was static because  
 small-scale agriculture, <sup>before mine</sup> accepted climate  
 as uncontrollable and  $\therefore$  was fatalistic.

[Leslie Burns Lecture Aug 27, 1930 W.ilmington]

"The most important thing about a  
 market is not that men buy & sell in it  
 but that men talk in it."

"I desire peace not because I love China or  
 the U.S. but because I love England."

If spirit is in all, it is in plants, and  
 we are merely blind to its operations.

We do not live on life but on vehicles or  
 materials of other life. Plants are sole  
 sources of protein. If we would treat  
 plants gently, we will kill only what we  
 need, and that gently. Give them a  
 chance to live their lives as fully as  
 possible and gain their share of experience.

guide the flow of life into different forms  
by cleanliness. Select own best  
diets and cut down disease and insect  
pests. Raise immunity.

Man's capacity for Self realization is  
greater by reason of greater complexity  
of integrations, extensions of receptive-  
ness, & larger environment (Huxley).  
But plants are more in touch with  
unity because they have not lost  
contact with super-consciousness.  
Perhaps plant fears us on a different  
time & space scale. Fear comes  
from mobility (?) & self-consciousness  
& time sense. But is also love.  $\therefore$  a  
reintegration. NVR as a mode to that  
Humility needed in our thinking about  
plants.

When labor cannot come to capital (as it did in case of immigration to U.S.), then capital will go to labor (as in U.S. infusing purchasing European & Chinese factories)

Re censorships of sex books Aldous Huxley wrote in Fortnightly Review (London) for Sept 1930, "That we should never be allowed to write (except in a Graeco-Latin jargon, and in the dreariest obscurity of a scientific text book) about experience which all of us have had seems to me simply incomprehensible." He says that all the relevant arguments & significant facts about this censorship are in a book called "Keeping it Dark" by B. Cantor & G. G. Young, Mandrake Press London, 3s 6d. 1930; "To the Pure" by Seager; "De Mythe

Venture " by Vilfredo Pareto and  
2 pamphlets by V. H. Lawrence, on  
pornography and in defence of "Lady  
Chatterley's Lover".

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When the pace and rhythm of  
work and the right measure of pay-  
ment ~~are~~ and a unified concept of  
life are all established, work ~~becomes~~  
ceases to be physical drudgery and  
becomes a part of thinking; — think-  
ing is the preceding <sup>culture</sup> setting of muscle  
for later massive elaboration. Life  
then isn't so divided into work &  
thinking. It becomes a part of culture.

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The big bankers are stronger than  
the traders. Therefore their policy—

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of attempted absolute security, will prevail over that of the traders, and they will try to retain control in India in Br hands &  $\therefore$  will lose all.

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Ex. of R. Redistribute the national income not by taxation but by home and village production of things that are needed.

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The Br. hole is subdividing the inefficiency of mfrs. & mfrs do the same & blind people to the evils of the capitalist system.

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When you assume that people are completely separate individuals and not one body, you create a prison. Then

you have to have soldiers and police  
to keep "order" in the prison, i.e. make  
the prison work,

of. "the indispensable preliminary to  
any form of peaceful government is the  
maintenance of law and order". But  
it must be an order growing out of inner  
realities and unities, and a law in  
consonance with such unity. There  
are many kinds of order.

In the Sat Rev. for Aug 9, 1912  
Sir Charles Paine suggests that grain-  
tations are acting to make all business  
jobs a curse for the middle classes, as  
poor boys cannot stay in school long  
enough to pass matric. This  
suggests to me that the working class  
must stop trying to think that

"getting on in the world" is a sound  
ambition. Use my new concept of  
money and start out to make real  
and service and U.S.R.

Jord Morley said that the business of  
a government is to govern.

R Emerson on Carlyle: "There is a type  
of great man who makes everyone  
about him feel small; but the  
really great man is he who makes  
everyone about him feel great."

That is partly because he sees the  
significance of small things and the  
infinite possibilities of human  
nature. E. g. the implications of daily  
spinning.

The Nation & Athenaeum Aug 9, 1930 - 31  
Charwomen " have that knowledge of  
human nature which comes in a  
crucement, a knowledge untraced by  
passion or romance, but almost  
unfailing in its acceptance of the  
foibles, the untidiness, the shoddiness  
pertaining to that nature. There is an  
awful sanctity in those who wield a  
scrubbing brush. Their eyes are much  
clear by labour and necessity.

The Indian princes are suspecting  
that we may be using them for our  
own purposes.

Much of western civilization divorces  
action from thought and will. Tallie-  
tallie. Village hand production

eliminates huge distribution wastes  
and records. Simplicity makes for  
newborn health and direct action.

The New Era of Sigmund Freud, by  
Samuel S. Taylor, Quarterly Rev. July 1930.

"Chinese historians", says Oakeshott,  
"have always spoken of Taoism as 'the  
art of living in the world'. Adjustment  
is Art. The art of life is a  
constant re-adjustment to one's surround-  
ings. Taoism accepts the mundane  
as it is and, unlike the Confucians  
and the Buddhists, tries to find  
beauty in our world of woe and worry."  
--- "In Taoism the wind is the  
symbol of universal harmony and freedom.  
--- Water is not merely the symbol of

fluidity and change, it also stands for  
the weakness that prevails against  
strength. Another Taoist, Yin Lu,  
Pun of Huai-nan, says: "There is  
nothing in the world so weak as  
water; yet its experience is such  
that it has no bounds; its depth  
such that it cannot be fathomed.  
Strike it - you hurt it not; stab it -  
you cause no wound; cut it - you  
cannot sever it in twain; - apply  
fire to it - it will not burn.  
Its cutting power is such that it will  
work its way through stone and  
metal; its strength is great that  
the whole world is surrounded by  
it."

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From an article "Ultima Ratio" by Dr  
Gustave Le Bon - The New Age,  
March 1932. Trans. from the Revue  
Blanche, Paris.

--- "Powerful as are the physical  
stimulants whose effects I have briefly  
sketched, their influence is infinitely  
weak compared to that of psycholog-  
ical stimulants. For the latter con-  
trol our will and thought. Anyone  
who knows how to master them is  
the master of people's souls, and  
consequently the master of people's  
conduct. It is on psychological  
influences that our great civilizations  
have been founded, and it is by  
psychological influences that they  
have been destroyed. The great  
masters of humanity always knew

how to manipulate the psychological factors that control the desires of individuals and multitudes. Of the various devices — affirmation, repetition, mental contagion, and so on — they found that the most powerful of all was that of prestige. This is the necessary basis for divine and royal authority.

"Successive ages have employed the elements that make up individual prestige. But individual prestige has been replaced by the action of numbers, a sovereign force, no doubt, but one lacking in fixity. And it is precisely because prestige has become an ephemeral power that the life of nations has lost its stability and is oscillating.

at the mercy of every hazard:

~~Quote from~~

Quote from "Revolt against the Intellectual"  
by Walter von Hollander, trans. from  
Vorworte Zeitung. Spring, Year 1932.

--- "In its heart of hearts the people  
has always been anti-intellectual ---  
They know that it is not what a  
man reads that is important, but  
what he is, what he is able to make of  
himself as an individual.

"This is why the only leaders of the  
people who have a lasting effect are  
those who set a personal example.  
This is why religious leaders can  
always out political leaders, why no  
leader can rule for long against the  
basic religious feeling of the people

against what we might also call 'organic  
feeling', the sense of the unity of all  
creation. This organic feeling recog-  
nizes that the happiness of man  
depends on the happiness of his  
fellow man (though this can be  
neither demonstrated nor proved) and  
has formulated itself in the two  
perpetually misunderstood sayings of  
Christ: 'Love thy neighbor as thyself',  
and 'Inasmuch as ye have done it  
unto one of the least of these my  
brethren, ye have done it unto me.'"

Maha Vidya Suktanta

Saved Books of the Pundlits - Khy. David  
Vol III, 1710, Oxford Press p 55.

"Thus it is, Ananda, that craving  
comes into being because of sensation,

pursuit because of craving, gain because of  
 pursuit, decision (Virrichaya: deciding  
 what to do with one's gains) because of  
 gain, desire and passion because of  
 decision, tenacity because of desire and  
 passion, possession because of tenacity,  
 avarice (Macchariyam: not offering  
 others to share) because of possession,  
 watch and ward because of avarice,  
 and many a bad and wicked state of  
 things arising from keeping watch and  
 ward over possessions: - blows and  
 wounds, strife, contradiction and  
 revolt, quarrelling, slander and lies."  
 (Macchariyam = stinginess, selfishness,  
 dog in the manger attitude). Prof  
 Kousambi says this is denotation of  
 capitalism.

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Note from review of C. S. Peirce's  
"Selected Papers" in Sat. Rev. of Lit.  
Mar 12, 1932:

--- "He pointed out that the most  
dependable systems of knowledge are  
not grounded <sup>on</sup> intuitively apprehended  
indubitable truths, since in fact no  
'truths' are indubitable. But he also  
stressed the fact that we cannot  
doubt all things at once, and that a  
sound logic, by being neither sceptical  
nor dogmatic, will construct hypotheses  
put them to empirical tests, reconsider  
a hypothesis or its verification if need  
be in terms of other hypotheses and  
observations, and so on without limit.  
This is the philosophy of fallibilism  
which finds felicitous expression in  
the present volume. Fallibilism

denies that any proposition in science is beyond every doubt, or that something or other can never be known, or that this or that element in science is ultimate and inexplicable. Absolute certainty, absolute exactitude, absolute universality, are ideals which may guide our inquiries, but they can never be reached by discursive thought.

--- "Pure qualitative possibility, sheer factuality involving tension and struggle, and lawfulness or habit or order that governs facts in the future, are the three notes which may always be perceived in the melody and harmony and discord of existence."

If fear is the premonition of pain, as Celsus seems to think, then anger

is also. (?) Voluntary suffering accepts  
that and does not try to run from  
the pain. Pain is a warning to the  
self of harmful forces at work.  
Sublimation tries to oppose these forces  
and deal with them, not merely to  
avoid them.

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The effect of adrenaline on blood sugar  
see W. B. Cannon M.D. - "The Wisdom of  
the Body" - W.W. Norton Co., 1932,  
pp 116-118 Ch VI. The emotional  
effects on all the body, see Ch XIII  
pp 212-215.

See Cannon - Traumatic Shock -  
D. Appleton, 1923.

"The Interrelation of Emotions" - W. B.  
Cannon - Amer. J. of Psychology 1914  
XXV  
256-282.

July 18. There are several instances recently in Delhi & elsewhere of Indian police overruling the order of court.

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~~July 18~~ July 15  
 Putting Lord Dunsford back in Cabinet at his old job (Education) probably means they feel need of his help on India, ~~especially~~ especially with R. MacDonald leaving to be away. Perhaps want his authority officially brought to bear on Indian Moderates. I doubt if it will work.

---

~~S~~ H.V.R. affects peoples self-reliance & self-confidence as well as their unity.  
 ∴ The right method for India.

---

Link the Stephens quote & horizon with Gandhi's preparation for Satyagraha & with "He that loath his life shall

find it. of Chanda  
—

The ability to adjust marks the  
difference between inorganic and  
organic. (Ability to move ~~in~~ space  
sense, beyond the body, marks  
the difference between animal and  
man (?). Time sense marks the  
difference between emotion and  
mind. (?) D. G. G.

---

Re N.V.R. The struggle generates  
self reliance. The leaders in jail  
(in India) have self-reliance, and  
their example is powerful and  
creative. No settlement can be  
made without them. The  
creativity of N.V.R. is one of its

The leaders in such a struggle, having suffered,  
 later have great prestige & power.  
 marks of divinity and value.

---

It is a struggle when one side uses V.V.  
 the other side is so basically cruel  
 that the moral contrast gives the V.V.  
 people a great sense of moral superiority  
 & that greatly enhances self-respect  
 and self-reliance. If Truth is adhered  
 to, the lies of the other side also  
 add to this contrast.

---

The race problem will creep out at  
 Ottawa in India, & will make trouble.

---

Sir S. Hoar's recent statement re  
~~the~~ making of new Constitution sets  
 matter back to method of Simon Com-  
 mission & action. A moral revulsion for  
 England in India. Revolt of Moderates

once more. Perhaps this is one reason why Lord Tennyson was suddenly taken into the Cabinet. Sir H. Samuel's death a sudden lucky chance for Govt. But I think the mischief is done. If Satter really results it will have considerable effect. With Baldwin away & MacDonald sick in Scotland & Hoare out of sympathy with Tennyson, beans will be spilled.

---

The history of America is the history of an extremist attitude of a group, fleeing from its inner revaluation. Now those values are collapsing; Christianity is proving itself a spent & empty formula & probably the people will have to wander long before they find

themselves. The new life of the world  
will be in the East.

---

If I can't get ordinary pupils, try to  
get a class to prepare for travels, - both  
men, & women, boys & girls.

---

July 22, 1932. The resignation of  
Sapin & Jayashan from the Consultative Com.,  
the refusal of 13 Hindu R.T.C. delegates to  
cooperate further w. Govt unless it renounces  
R.T.C., & the approval of that vote by  
the Nat'l Liberal Fed including Sautis, &  
Chintamani, Detached, Sathina it is  
important. The Grand G. editorial  
trying to say it makes no diff is not so  
1st it makes a diff w. world opinion as it  
ends the Br Bluff that India consents.  
I - India it will add greatly to trouble

of Congressmen & make them realize  
the progress they are ~~making~~<sup>making</sup>; will  
~~lighten~~ the weight of opposition in India  
to Congress; will release the pent up  
bitterness of many younger Moderates &  
make them ready to admit & actually  
admit Br. injustices & violations of faith  
that formerly they would not speak about.  
The more minded will want to make  
their non-cooperation active & effective in  
order to get out of reproaches of Indians  
as to their patriotism. ~~They~~<sup>These</sup> will now  
believe that "Constitutional" methods are  
ineffective vs. Br. All this will  
undoubtedly modify the stand of the  
Non-Brahmin party of S. India.  
The more communalist Moderates will  
go closer to Br. & the moderate

Muslims will become more critical of the  
 Govt servants will now begin to lose their  
 loyalty. Much of the situation is  
 back as it was pre Simon Commission. No, it  
 is much worse than that. The entire country  
 except a very few Muslims ~~is~~ & a small  
 section of landlords & Ambedkar untouchables  
 is now anti-Govt & much more bitter &  
 disillusioned. ~~It~~ There will tend to be  
 more quarrels between Muslims & Hindus  
 in Govt service & ∴ more sabotage there.  
 The Govt officials will be angry with  
 Moderates & ∴ less apt to be decent with  
 all Hindus & anti Govt Indians. Landlords  
 will become more nervous about their posi-  
 tion & ∴ more demanding of Govt protection.  
 I should think that this would all tend  
 to make Govt more hesitant about <sup>acting</sup>  
 communal award as now the situation

it by Hindus will be much stronger & not the slightest chance of its being effective. May delay it  $\therefore$  until introduction of the Bill into Parl.

If it delays the passage of the Bill it will insure the increase of the opposition & bitterness. If the Bill is hastened the tug of war will be sooner over. The fact that moderate opposition is now will mean that the Bill will be less "generous" than before planned & the "safeguards" much stiffer.  $\therefore$  The future of it all is now certain. By Xmas 1935 when new Bill is scheduled to be done & passed into law, the bitterness in India will be so profound that Britain will never recover from it.

The Moderate Boycott will intensify the economic boycott, probably. The strain on Moderates has now been so long that now if they really are broken-hearted, as alleged, their faith, <sup>in govt. etc.</sup> will never revive.

If any considerable body of Moderates now begin to boycott, govt servants will begin to weaken & crack up. The Moderate opposition will make <sup>Indian</sup> ~~the~~ Civil Service realise their days, <sup>in power</sup> are short. Their discouragement will be served by Indian police & then ~~will~~ <sup>may</sup> ~~probably~~ be during the autumn a distinct change in govt morale. Social boycott will intensify vs Br as well as vs Indian police. Br will now be isolated from all Indians except ~~and~~ <sup>just</sup> the Moderates, landlords, Princes & a few rich squittles. Princes will become much less inclined

to join in such a Federation, with  
everyone against them. So that will  
slow down the creation or putting  
into effect of the Bill proposed.

We will see if Gwynne's forecast was  
right. I think it was, tho it may take 6  
months to operate.

March 9's editorial was a confession  
of complete failure of Br. diplomacy  
& policy. Also a give away as to Br.  
G's own attitude. They stick by  
Empire, right or wrong. No condemna-  
tion of Gov't. Merely a few light  
jibes as Sir S. Hoare's personal  
manners.

All this will undoubtedly worry  
Br delegates at Ottawa. They  
knew it just about as they left  
London.

One effect of the Moderates' revolt will be to take away the last cloak of decent Britisher shame. Now they know that no Indian but self sekers, - no idealistic Indian trust Englishmen or the Br. Govt or will cooperate with the Govt, and they know why. So they are ashamed. That is one step toward changing the heart of the British. Nothing now left to cover the now Br. Govt tyranny and oppression.

The Br. Govt will not reverse its policy partly out of pride, partly because Tories would not permit it, partly because they greatly fear a disclosure to all the world of Br. failures & cruelty if another R.T.C. were held. Hindu Moderates would

again wield the pressure of Congress  
power & threats in public. Very bad  
for Br. prestige.

Indian Moderate leaders have now  
by their action told other Indians  
that "constitutional" methods are a  
failure, - even more emphatically  
told so & even more emphatically a  
failure than at time of U.C.O. with  
Simon Com. ∴ Those Indians desiring  
action, - and all sentiment and  
shame for the apparent lack of galvanization  
& impels to action - must turn  
to at least some parts of Congress  
program for satisfaction.

After this action by the Moderates,  
if another Amritsar happens <sup>any</sup> all  
India will be ablaze and <sup>many</sup> <sup>reignition</sup>  
from govt would take place:

There is more likelihood of sabotage now  
by <sup>Indian govt</sup> clerks.

---

When India wins, the Br. will  
do their utmost to prevent any  
financial credit <sup>and to</sup> being granted.  
So that will cut down purchases of  
machinery & i. drive people to charlatans.

---

Self spinning prevents Gandhi from  
becoming a matter of pride & mere  
outer show, from being an empty  
symbol.

---

Note that the March G. in  
its editorial of July 11 did not  
count the Moslems as being any  
important help to govt or bridge  
across to India

Because of the tenaciousness of feeling in India the action of the Moderates will count for more than it would have a year ago. The Moderates do count in the outside world opinion, even if not in India.

---

Moderates will now urge that they be given a larger share of power. Br. will not yield much for giving her own control of profits, also was to maintain a balance between Moderates & Hindus. Moderates are not educated enough for the job, in political positions or business positions. Br. refusals will make Moderates rose, especially as they are being flattered in London. But if Br. yield much to Moderates the Hindus in Govt

reverse will get over a subology.

In my book, by not trying to make a 100% case for the V.R. I make it stronger & more true to my statement that more remains to be discovered about it.

---

For India to gain Swaraj she must gain self-confidence as well as unity. The years of subordination have made a big difficulty there. How does the V.R. work in this respect? What indications are there in India of change in this respect? This involves an issue not discussed much in discussions of military strategy. Perhaps Adler's book would help her - a reversed personality.

Muslims helped Hindus in one quarter of Bombay during the riots.

Send Mem rd of Ec of K to

✓ K. Katarajam (also pamphlet)

✓ J. Nehru

✓ C. Rajagopalachari

✓ Chandu Bose

✓ P.C. Ray

~~S. S. S. S.~~

✓ V. Elion (also pamphlet)

✓ Prabuddha Pal (also pamphlet)

✓ ~~Prabuddha~~ — (also pamphlet)

✓ Ray, Reynolds (also pamphlet)

✓ Alta Pocha (also pamphlet)?

✓ Rayan

✓ Mysore

✓ Vinn

✓ Narandas K. G.

✓ P.C. M. M. Katarajam

✓ ~~Mr.~~ M. P. Gandhi

✓ Narandas Gandhi

✓ Montal Gandhi S. G. Pina

A Congress leader or advisor in each district

✓ Anuragha Bha

Mrs. Naidu  
Heads of seven Bal in each  
provinces  
state + India of education

Non Brahmins will tend to follow  
Moderates. Ambabedham will then be  
weakened. Justice is a non-Brahmin

---

Hencefore, the Indian repression was  
presumably for purposes of joint consti-  
tution making. Now it is naked repression  
in order to compel India to swallow  
Mr. do. Very different results.

Moderates are never ~~more~~ to direct  
action now than they ever were  
before. Some Moderates are afraid  
of their skins, & some of their personal  
status. Some of the latter may now  
be willing to take the risk, because  
their status as traitors gets harder  
to bear. Those who have clung to  
constitutional methods out of a sincere  
faith partly in those methods & partly in

the Br. ( who preached those methods  
to them ) , will now regard the Br.  
action as utter breach of faith. Such  
disappointed idealists become very  
cynical & bitter. Their faith in  
Br. will not revive, especially not  
by whatever new legislation the Tory  
Govt provide.

---

If Indian police, reflecting the impa-  
tience of their Br. captains, get sore & beat  
up some Moderate leaders, there will  
be more trouble.

---

One wing of Moderates, the landlords  
& Princes are now all that are left as  
upholders of Br. rule. All these are selfish,  
and Princes are suspicious of Moderates.  
Princes are very little help toward Fed.

or in any way in Br. India. So in Br. I.  
 the Br. now have only two <sup>strong</sup> allies, - one group of  
 Muslims and the landlords. These Muslims  
 are so aggressive and greedy and shortsighted  
 and poor at politics that they will make  
 trouble for the Br. They and the police  
 will in the next six months be more of a  
 trouble to Br. than aid. Federation <sup>under Br.</sup> is  
 dead.

The middle bloc of Muslims will  
 probably break away when the commun-  
 al award is made, or if it is not made.  
 Br. will probably do some thing to try  
 to hold them, - e.g. something about  
 Sind or Kashmir. If Br. try to  
 coerce the Bombay Cotton Exchange in  
 any other than their charter affairs, the boycott  
 will probably tighten and Hindu may  
 gain strength.

The hindering of the Primer in the making of a Fed is limiting Br. proposals and action, & ∴ making it harder for Br. to fool Indian Moderates & public opinion abroad.

The big group of anti-~~govt~~-anti-Congress Moderates are awaiting the Govt award. If it is unduly delayed, most of them will come out vs Govt. Sir S. Hoare hinted that the award ~~would~~ not satisfy the Moderates. Since the award cannot concede all the Moderate demands, certain of this middle bloc are sure to go vs Govt. If that turns out to be a large crowd, then exciting developments may come soon. Probably the Sikhs will non-cooperate en masse.

If no sudden developments, then there will be a period of slow attrition. Financial losses to Govt. Perhaps a massacre; perhaps a break in police morale. Perhaps a failure at Ottawa will start something.

But I think likely that after the morrow the Congress will grow more active.

---

July 29. There are signs of <sup>considerable</sup> buying of U.S. securities by Br. Drop in £. This ties up with rumor that Aug would see hard times in Br. finance. Defeat in Austria may be it. If Br. finance gets in a tight place & if Ottawa is not really successful, Br. discouragement will find reflexion in India, among civil servants.

Sir S. H.'s statement & Sandhu's  
comment puts an end to cooperation of  
the 3 Br. parties on Indian policy.

---

Sir S. H.'s statement & new procedure  
& re ordinaries is a confession of failure  
of both sides of the "dual policy".

---

Dr. Edmond Privat, Territet,  
Vaud, Switzerland.

---

True internationalism is not a  
matter of exterior organization but  
of inner attitude and ideas.

---

The fall in world prices is caused  
not by monetary defects but by loss of  
confidence in the future, - fears of war,  
tariffs, other barriers, which eat down

time & ~~demanded~~ security & ∴ demand.

Maybe a rising to Sabar in by-elections will make Tores walk more warily re India. Govt has lost two such by-elections in last couple of weeks.

My idea of control of people by values hitches up with "the Kingdom of God is within you".

de Montmorency's illness looks only diplomatic, as philatelic does not come from <sup>the heart is moved for 3 months, up time</sup> ~~overwork~~. He will govern the Punjab from his "bedside". If so, the fact will later leak out and get Moslems roused.

I would not be surprised to see Moslems & Hindus get much closer together during the

autumn.

---

The Soviet indirect method of choosing  
representatives gains in reality.

---

Are classes created by the relative  
abilities of people to manipulate & use  
value schemes and symbols, or are they  
the result of ~~some~~ the operation of  
~~automatic~~ gradation of values, different  
modes of apprehending and expressing the  
same general schemes of value?

---

As a title for booklet using the  
2 chapters on Gandhi & X, mention  
there, - "Apparent Inconsistencies in  
Masters of Non-violence."

One value system very prevalent in all countries of European culture is that of large scale of organization. It is connected with extraversion, - extroversion, greed, and overemphasis on senses. Science depends on evidence of senses, too.

The Be would not have appointed that Moslem governor of the Punjab unless they expected heavy weather ahead. I suspect that it means they know that lots of Moslems will be very sore at the communal award, and this is to try to hold them. Sir S.H. made it clear that Be are not sure how much they can hold, because in two speeches, 2 weeks apart, he used a phrase about "assuming that the Moslems' difficulties are satisfied by the

award" then the ~~Council~~ Consultative  
Committee would resume its work. The  
appointment will anger a good many Br.  
subordinate civil servants, especially those  
who might have been in line for the  
job. Or, if it is well-known among Br.  
that de Vis's illness is only false, it will  
leak out, for all Indians are very suspicious.  
Even tho this Motion is pro joint-  
electorates, the Sikhs will be misled &  
the Hindu Moderates suspicious. Pro-  
Br. Moderates will get ~~the~~ so puffed up  
& appetite so whetted that they will  
grow more suspicious and will come  
beams somewhere, - e.g. with Princes, in  
a Govt dept  
the next few months.

I doubt whether Irwin in Cabinet  
will please or placate Moderates now.

~~The same~~ His appointment is rather  
transparent, and his speech at Thrush,  
with sentiment on having promised only to an  
Indian Fed., will not help.

If out of pride or obstinacy or ignorance  
the Gov of State or Viceroy makes no  
clear cut move to compromise on  
procedure before the communal award is  
made, that may spoil matters so that  
Moderates are made permanently unreasonable.  
The psychological relief of nation &  
tension among Moderates by their act,  
the peace they will get from other Indians,  
their sense of reconciliation with their  
own people, will make them ready to  
believe stories of atrocities & double  
dealing, So their sentiment as B. will  
mount higher every day & it will be  
very difficult indeed for B. to win them

back. I doubt if it can be done. Yet if  
the Govt postpones the award very long in  
order to seem dignified and unflinched,  
the Northern feelings will be further  
strained & its reception by them more  
likely to be hostile.

---

If Saxton or some other big Moderate  
actually joins Congress & gets jailed or  
persecuted by Govt & stands up under  
it, ~~the~~ effect will be great.

---

Hooper thinks, ~~that~~ I imagine, that  
the revolt of Moderates is not significant.  
He doesn't know India & doesn't realize  
what that means in terms of unity.  
Also doesn't understand the heart something  
as well as Bayne. More a believer in  
mechanical operations of action.

Hitherto the Br. Tories have kept aloof  
 from Irwin because they thought he had  
 been too easy on Gandhi & Congress & had  
 harmed Br. prestige. That they have  
 taken him into the Cabinet now is an  
 admission that their policy hitherto has  
 been a mistake & a failure. What scheme  
 is being concocted? Perhaps a diplomatic  
 illness by Sir S.H. and Irwin put in as  
 Secy of State for India? Perhaps another  
 R.T.C. with Irwin in charge instead of  
 MacDonald. Perhaps MacDonald's health is  
 failing. <sup>Perhaps has put him in.</sup> Perhaps merely because they want  
 Irwin's advice & he had refused to be included  
<sup>by</sup> unless they took him into Cabinet &  
 publicly recognized his services & their need of them.  
 Perhaps merely a preparation in case Govt  
 later has to climb down & grant a R.T.C.  
 Perhaps one reason why news of all this has

been suppressed from U.S. papers is because  
We are afraid they may have to climb  
down & don't want to have it known  
here is a climb down.

---

Gandhi once wrote (1916) regarding educa-  
tion: --- "I look upon our present system  
with honor and distrust. Instead of  
developing the moral and mental faculties  
of the little children it dwarfs them.  
--- I shall endeavor to avoid the defects  
of the present system. The chief thing  
aimed at is contact of children with  
men and women of culture and  
unimpeachable moral character. That to  
me is education. Literary training is  
to be used merely as a means to  
that end."

Quotes from John Middleton Murry  
 "The Necessity of Communism" - London,  
 Jonathan Cape, 1932

p. 12-13. "In the complex modern world of  
 competitive capitalism the vast majority  
 of our individual actions are de-individ-  
 ualized. I may, personally be as humane  
 as I like, but unless I am a man of  
 uncommon imagination, I shall not be  
 aware that I am involved in a system  
 which is radically inhuman: that just as  
 the system of Russian Communism necessitates  
 this ghastly inhumanity to men like you  
 and me, so does the system of economic  
 individualism necessitate ghastly inhuman-  
 ity to men of another class. --- In  
 the modern world of economic individ-  
 ualism, de-individualized by the capital-

it system, it is impossible for the individual to be humane. He may think he is humane, as we all do, but it is impossible for him to be humane. Hence the feeling of impotence among so many individually humane men today. [That's why Kropotkin's method of simplicity, poverty, self-denial, & Khadi is right]

p. 141 "If you do not..." Unless your humanity becomes completely effective, completely corporate, you will get the inhumanity of Russian Communism, and you will have deserved to get it. ---

| If you do not want a revolution in the world about you, you must undergo a revolution within."

d. 29. "Values" are real only in so far as they are embodied in the actual

organisms of individual men. The 'values' of Christianity, for example, are real only in the actual behaviour of human beings. If they are not real in human behaviour they are not real at all.

--- If you make real in your behaviour 'Blessed are the poor', or the saying: 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God,' you begin to turn the world upside down; ~~and with one stroke the hierarchy and creates a~~

p. 48. "Each criminal generation of men has its own peculiar destiny of sacrifice, a form of sacrifice possible to and therefore demanded of it alone. To return to a past pattern of sacrifice is to shrink from the sacrifice. For the sacrifice must always be a dedication

of oneself to the unknown."

p. 53. "The kingdom of God is simply the condition of an ethical being, the state of disinterestedness."

~~p. 53. "But what had~~

p. 70. "Internationalism begins at home; it begins, for the individual who is not simply a member of the actual proletariat, by a ruthless sacrifice of the ego. --- He [Mr. Wells] has always wanted a world-revolution without a moral revolution in himself."

p. 11. "Efficient capitalism means one thing - and one thing only - the mobilization of the entire resources of the world for a final and completely devastating war. --- Capitalism, ultimately, can only magnify war."

coloured would the conflict that is inherent in it as a mode of production. It can only enlarge the inter-branch competition that obtains between individual enterprises into inter-branch competition between nations, or groups of nations. You can stop the whole process at the source, or not at all."

pp. 75-6 "We have an accumulation of bourgeois values, which are genuinely precious - refinements of art, of social conduct, created by centuries out of the leisure reserved to the non-productive classes by the production. These are good things and we know that they are good. It will be a pain to us to part with them. It may be that we shall not have to part with them altogether; but it

is certain that if we cling to them, we shall find the discomforts that the situation requires of us. We can be wise of carrying into the future only those good values which are actually incorporated ~~in~~ in our living values. If we insist on travelling with baggage we shall <sup>surely</sup> lose the train. We must be prepared to take the plunge naked or not at all."

p. 85. "It takes most men a lifetime to know what they really want, and the vast majority of human beings have not learned it on their death-beds. We all want material advantages - it is the instinct of the human animal within us - but as we slowly approach a condition of fuller

awareness, we begin to realize that the clutching at immediate material advantage may result in all advantages being taken from us."

p. 86. "Revolution is the moment when quantitative changes, in the great natural process of social life, by mere excess of quantity, become qualitative. It takes but one quantitative degree of heat on the thermometer to change water into steam. But the change is a revolution." ... "It needs eyes that look deep to see the essential continuity of nature."

p. 87. "Ah, the word 'revolution'. It would lose all its terrors, if man could understand that revolution is inevitable. -- If man will not submit to a revolution in themselves they will be forced to undergo a revolution in their outward

would. On the other, if they  
have not undergone the inward  
revolution, the outward revolution  
will come on them like a catas-  
trophe. "

---

Since money is so defective and  
since violence is so defective, the means  
of integrating small units into large ones  
ought not to be either financial or  
military. That much is sure. The  
element of such forms of <sup>control and</sup> compulsion should  
be excluded.

---

More quotes from J. M. Murray's  
books.

p. 100 "Suborn in its consciousness (for,  
we repeat, its leaders are its conscious

ness) — is capitalistic; to be guarantee on capitalism is to be capitalistic.

"Between men of the same fundamental convictions the moral superiority of the man who declares them 'over the man who is afraid to is overwhelming'.

p. 102. "It is not winning that matters, it is saving one's soul alive; — To put winning first is to condemn Sabon to ultimate defeat and this nation to the horrors of slow collapse. — The conscious revolutionary cannot put winning first: — It is the old, old story, couched in modern terms: 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven and all these things shall be added unto you'.

"Therefore, if the discredited leaders of Sabon now bring forth the argument that Sabon cannot win or even avoid

revolutionary programme, this is what we  
shall say to them: By that argument  
you are finally revealed as unworthy to  
lead Salomon any more. For Salomon is  
revolutionary, and it cannot win  
except as revolutionary. If it wins  
as anything else, it loses. 'What  
shall it profit a man if he gain the  
whole world and lose his own soul?'

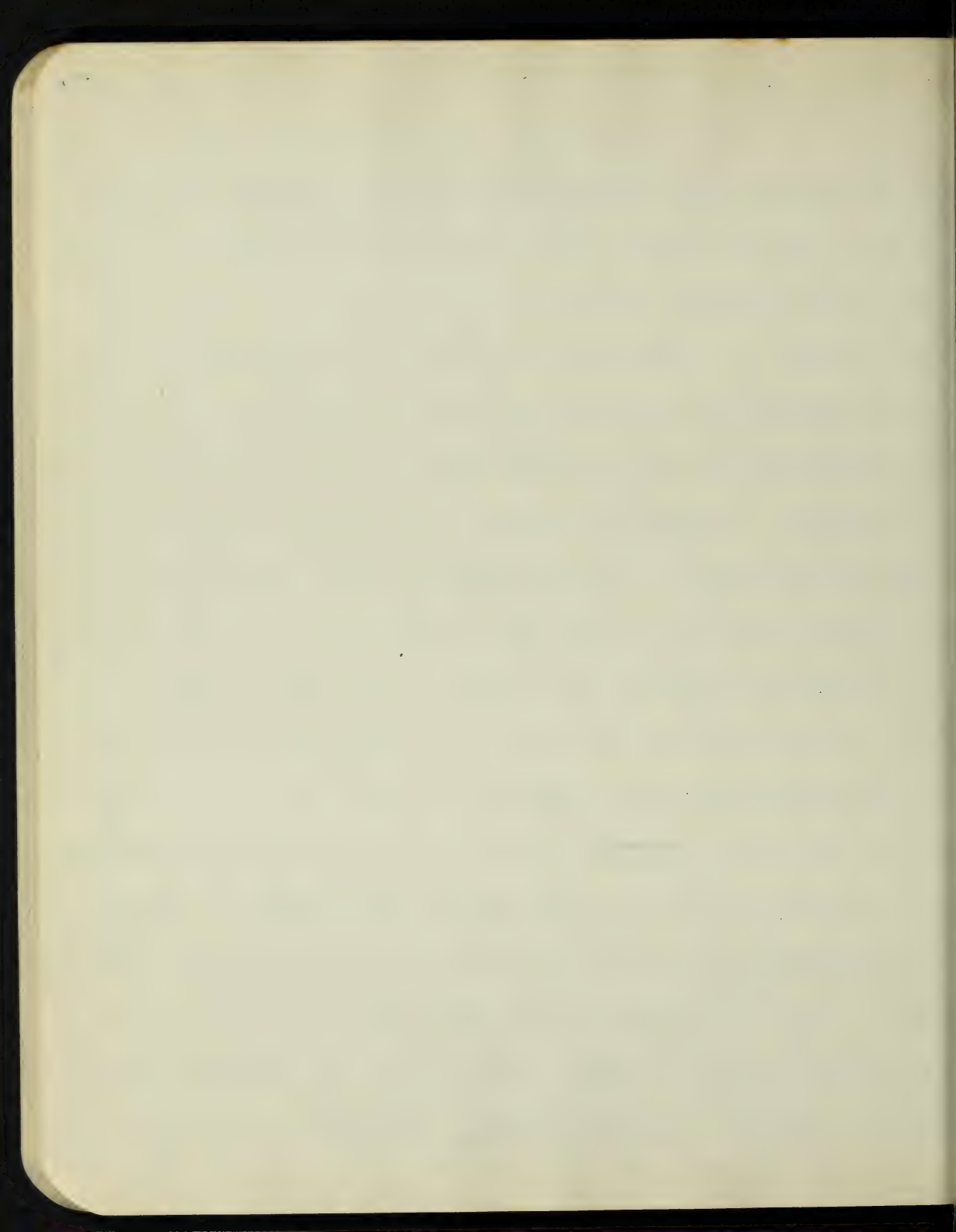
p. 116 "Communism is the economics of  
disintegration"

See Murray "God: An Introduction to  
the Science of Metaphysics"

p. 130 ~~B~~ "His (D.H. Lawrence) novel  
Kangaroo is one of the most profound  
political treatises of modern times, for  
it shows the complete moral demand  
of conscious politics upon the modern

man. . . . . He was the first modern English-  
man to feel the demands of the complete  
demand.

p. 136 " " There are certain bourgeois who  
want to redress social grievances - in  
order to refound bourgeois society. To  
this category belong economists, philan-  
thropists, humanitarians, welfare  
workers, charity organizers, members  
of societies for prevention of cruelty to  
animals, temperance fanatics, hole-  
and-corner reformers of every imag-  
inable ~~kind~~ mind. Bourgeois ~~social~~  
socialists want the conditions of life  
that characterize modern society without  
the struggles and dangers which are  
the inevitable outcome of those condi-  
tions. They want excellent society,  
without its revolutionary and dis-





integrating elements. They want the bourgeoisie without the proletariat." (The Manifesto of the Communist Party)."

---

Perhaps part of communism is <sup>morally</sup> sound if you accept the value of large-scale rigid organization and big machinery. The extreme big organisms of today are perhaps only attempts that will fall. & dissolve.

J. M. Murray is badly confused on pacifism <sup>pp 44, 45</sup> & non-violence. He thinks England is humane & non-violent & he likes things so, yet he condemns pacifism. The book shows a lot of muddled thinking.

soaring above

+ bourgeois values, + false pride. of  
pp 107, 91, 99, 110, 111, 115. He thinks  
there must be a purely English commun-  
ism, i.e. without violence. He wants  
a good minimum wage, & that seems to  
be as far as he has got. His analysis of  
the cleavage between Sabon & its leaders in  
fall of 1931 is excellent. Some good thoughts  
but little clarity or cohesion. Mostly emotion.

---

Divide & rule also applies to the indivi-  
dual. The pure in heart, the one-pointed,  
are united with God and ∴ cannot be  
ruled by other powers.

---

My ideas on boycott

- (1) Must pay a price for any (ling) advance  
suffering will be behind
- (2) A boycott can't succeed unless there is  
very strong & deep & widespread feeling

about it

- (3) A boycott without creating a better substitute for the lost trade or production is n.g.
- (4) Probably requires great truth as well as great desire, <sup>in order</sup> to be successful. ~~Be~~ the struggle must be for justice, not merely of greed.

5

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The Govt of India is so hard up that it cannot lower any tariffs to help out at Ottawa.

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The Machinery in Glenn Franklin's  
Thunder & Dawn -

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A good book - Man's Medicine by  
Henry 2. Sigrist - W & W Boston 1932 88c

Gerhart Hauptmann says that ideal culture means a balance between imagination & understanding.

The talk about the task of the world being to overcome man's bondage to nature is jiffle. The big job is for man to overcome his bondage to self.

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A line in one of Edw. Thompson's articles on India made me realize that one reason for the big spaces around B. places in India is the desire, born of the hunting, to leave room for shooting people who may attack. The rest is imitation.

---

The revolt of the Moderates is

more significant psychologically & culturally  
than politically. It means that India  
has turned her face away from the  
West. Now undeterred, she will work  
out her own salvation in her own  
way. The intelligentsia are coming to  
accept Kropkin's message & methods  
more & more fully. When they are  
fully converted, there will be no  
stopping of the Indian revolution.

The Be idea & movements & mind  
as Gandhi & India, acts to become it  
is known in India, acts to reveal the  
false moral & sentimental & psycholog-  
ical ties between the two countries.  
It helps to strip bare the character of  
Britain to Indian eyes. The police

brutality makes Indians feel immensely superior morally to the Br., thereby ending the Indian inferiority complex.

And as there is a censorship in Br. re news from India, but no censorship in India re news from Br., the Indians are at an advantage & can act more intelligently.

Are Br. buying U.S. securities because they expect a slump in England after failure at Ottawa?

The struggle in Br. Cabinet between Tories & Libs. as evidenced by appointment of Davis & comment in Brit. New. & India News is interesting. Will open under in the Parl. debates in autumn & winter. May end in ousting Mac D. Then there will be



The Manchester Guardian

3 Cross St., Manchester

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Apparently the R.T. ones have now  
 agreed with me that the muddy  
 committees, conferences, etc. are futile  
 red herrings, & have decided to drop  
 them. Even bringing ~~the~~ Darwin  
 into the Cabinet will not prevent  
 that belief, nor reverse its effects. The  
 announcement by Tories forced even  
 the Liberal members of to agree, so  
 the mask of hypocrisy is lowered for  
 all Englishmen.

---

If values are the real control & if  
 they are true only as lived, & are created by  
 being lived, & if example is the highest  
 power, then it is our duty to

feel and think out clearly a  
consistent scheme of values & live  
it thoroughly & with all one's energy  
& devotion & utter sincerity, regardless of  
~~one's individual life~~ the duration of  
one's individual life.

~~Individualism~~

"Life is meaningful not because it  
is truly valuable but because it shares  
in the meaning of reality as a whole,  
whatever that meaning may be". -  
Niebuhr. " That is true of individual  
human life. It not only shares in  
the meaning of total reality but is  
(most) able to suggest most fully  
and richly the meaning and implica-  
tions of that total reality to us.

# GANDHI IS HAILED AS ETHICAL LEADER

Prof. Niebuhr at Columbia Says  
He and Schweitzer Are in  
Forefront of New Trend.

*NY Times Aug 6 1932*  
**A REVOLT AGAINST CONTROL.**

Human Nature, Holds Lecturer, Is  
Going Back to Philosophies of  
Ancients in Social Attitude.

Gandhi and Albert Schweitzer are the leaders of a new ethical attitude on the part of mankind, a return to the old philosophy of "reverence," Professor H. Richard Niebuhr of the Yale Divinity School declared yesterday in an address to Columbia University Summer session students at the Horace Mann Auditorium, Teachers College.

"The prevailing ethical attitude of the past two hundred years and more has been the attitude of human domination over the world," Professor Niebuhr asserted. "Capitalism and industrialism have taught us to regard our environment as something to be mastered for our purposes."

"Human nature has revolted and is revolting against 'control, manipulation and mechanization,'" he held.

"Under these circumstances it is not surprising that a small but increasing number of men are returning to an old wisdom which regarded the proper attitude of man in the world to be not so much the attitude of domination as one of reverence," he continued. "Among modern representatives of that attitude Gandhi and Albert Schweitzer are best known."

"Externally the attitude shows itself in an almost romantic and tender regard for all living things. Fundamentally it rests upon the affirmation of life, upon the acceptance of that animal faith, which is proper to the animal man, that life is meaningful not because it is itself valuable but because it shares in the meaning of reality as a whole, whatever that meaning may be."

"The ethics of reverence for life imports an elements of passivity into our Western activism. Because it has confidence of processes of health working in the world, because it is skeptical about the ability of men to project adequate plans for their own lives and the lives of others it does not seek to reform or refashion. But it resists evil with non-resistance and non-cooperation. Even suffering is for it a way of creative activity."

"The dominating attitude toward the environment and nature in general has experienced some sad reverses. We have begun to discover that the cosmos itself is not friendly to our wishes, is not concerned with the promotion of human values, but is profoundly inimical to our wishes. Life itself has been emptied of meaning for multitudes of men who find it barren and a burden."

The revolt of Indian  
Moderates, if it can be  
brought out in America,  
shows to Americans the  
failure of Br. policy  
and therefore it is the  
significant moment for  
American criticism to  
begin. American criticism  
now will begin to tell on  
MacDonald & Dr. Ivin &  
influence the struggle in the  
British cabinet

The failure at Ottawa will  
somewhat weaken the Tories in  
England, but will also embitter  
them & as they are still in a major-  
ity in Parl., they will be all  
the more ~~so~~ fearful about a loss  
of India, & all the more angry  
re Irwin - MacDonald policy.

At Ottawa India has yielded  
\* no help because she could not  
afford to lower her tariffs or give up  
any chance at joint income. Canada  
will give little because she is  
industrially competition & closely  
tied to U.S. Ireland has the  
fight on vs England. So  
England can get concessions only  
from U.S., Australia & S. Africa  
Australia needs financial help &

can't give much. S. Africa is politically  
 not too ~~friendly~~ <sup>favorable</sup> toward England & a  
 because of gold is hostile to Br. currency  
 proposals. These 3 dominions  
 are the weaker and smaller ones  
 anyhow. So Gr. Br. will not  
 get much out of the show. So  
 Br. discouragement will grow. Even  
 if prices in her share of world  
 X trade will steadily shrink. The  
 Ottawa failure will be another  
 drop in Br. prestige. The Br.  
 will try all the harder to make  
 up to U.S.A.

In X's imagination to pry, to ask it  
 for X's sake, is perhaps the equivalent  
 of unworking the front of works.

Aug 7. The rumour is today <sup>My.</sup>  
H. T. illume that Indian Govt is secretly  
negotiating with Rajagopalachari &  
Biswas re Congress participation in consti-  
tution making sounds like a Moderate's  
~~intention~~ + Govt intrigue. It is true, no  
doubt, that Govt is in a tight hole.  
But now the bitterness has gone too  
far. Gandhiji, even if he were weak  
as Karamia thinks, would not dare  
negotiate without such concessions by  
Govt as would never be accented to by  
Br. Br. have revealed their intentions  
far more clearly than they had when  
Lord Dinning negotiated w. Bapu. Moder-  
ates no doubt would like to use Bapu's  
strength now to get them out of the  
hole they are in. But Bapu now can  
and will compel them to come his way

instead of yielding to go to them. The  
 Govt have not shown the slightest  
 sign of a change of heart. Quite the  
 reverse. But if negotiations actually  
 are beginning it shows Govt's  
 weakness. This will be like the  
 summer of 1930 negotiations with ~~Satish~~  
~~Bayan~~ • Jaganmohan, - a failure. Bayan  
 by waiting will put Govt into the  
 communal mess. No doubt they would  
 like to avoid all that. But if a  
 jail release ~~then~~ comes all of a sudden  
 the movement will be given renewed  
 strength & India will again be on  
 the front pages & Br. failure will be  
 made still clearer to the world. Welling-  
 don is not a helpful negotiator -  
 I wish. India will demand end of British  
 ones before negotiations begin & that

is something that Br. Tories are not  
prepared to do, as soon after Hoar's  
grand refusal before all of Parl.  
I do not think that the Moderates have  
any arguments that would tempt  
Gardner to yield & begin negotiating  
yet if Gardner is ejected from jail  
he can make vast trouble for Govt  
outside.

I think the rumor expresses  
some Indian Moderate and Br  
Gilded hopes, but not any prob-  
abilities. No doubt I win &  
MacD would like to begin nego-  
tiations again but they would  
have to pay a heavy price and  
I think the Br. Tories would  
probably throw out MacD if he  
attempts it.

Koromli thinks Br. govt under-  
 takes w. U.S. govt ~~at~~ at time  
 of Japanese trouble & is the price  
 of Br support there, that U.S.  
 would put a stop to discussion of  
 India in U.S. newspapers &  
 magazines.

---

Probably some of the Moderates are  
 nervous lest they be driven to actually  
 work with Congress or get arrested on  
 suspicion, & so are commencing to talk  
 with Congress people. Perhaps some of  
 the European civilians of Bombay &  
 Madras would like to reach a  
 settlement, too. But I do not think  
 that Govt is ready to do that yet,  
 tho govt might be preparing the  
 ground to act quickly in case the

reaction from the communal award  
is too great for it.

---

From Tolie's "Muttering" -  
"Symptoms of the Dances of Pianoforte  
Technique."

Opening quotation from Plotinus  
"For teaching is only of whether and  
how to go, the vision itself is the  
work of him who hath willed  
to see."

--- Before. "--- Obviously this plan  
involves much repetition and iteration.  
But unless the various facts are  
thus brought into close juxtaposi-  
tion in their presentation, their  
bearing upon each other might easily  
be overlooked and lead to serious  
misunderstandings.

"While such iteration may be wanted by the casual reader, it is imperative for the true student. It is only by repetition of the same point under various aspects that facts are eventually brought home and grasped; and the vision of the whole not lost sight of while in pursuit of the details of structure.

"A genius may not need such treatment; he may see things in a flash of intelligence. Geniuses in the past have thus unconsciously salvaged the true processes of technique, else there never would have been any great players before the appearance of the 'Act of Touch'. The work of the present volume, however, is designed as an endeavor to help the ordinary worker and Saver after Truth; the genius, himself, may also save years

of time and feel sure of his ground by  
taking the trouble to master the fact  
thus intellectually, as well as by  
"intuition".

p. 7. "The acquisition of any mus-  
cular habit, good or bad, is always a  
mental act. You cannot teach  
your muscles to act rightly, you  
can only teach your brain to  
direct your muscles rightly. ----

By no possible effort of mind can  
you directly actuate any muscle.  
You can only actuate a muscle by  
vividly imagining and wanting the  
required action or operation of your  
limb. And you can only achieve  
free action of the limb by wishing  
its action to be free.

---

Aug 10

+ days by Time says Indian comm-  
munal award will be announced Aug 17.  
This means that things are moving so  
fast in India & people are so excited that  
Macdonald cannot wait until the  
Ottawa delegates return to England, or else  
that he is putting over something in  
their absence. If the latter, & it will  
have repercussions on him in England from  
among Tories. Perhaps is an indication of  
the great pressure to get started on the  
new Bill. <sup>An attempt to</sup> get the row <sup>in India</sup> over before Parl.  
<sup>etc</sup> meets in Oct.

Very plainly the Sikhs will get lumped  
on the award & will cease to cooperate with  
Govt. Many of them will join up with  
Congress & boycott economically as well as  
politically. Probably many communalist  
Muslims will also be very sore & many

Moderns of various kinds will non-cooperate.  
Remains to be seen the extent of this  
movement.

---

Now that Br. have dropped R.T.C.  
they admit the futility of the red baring  
or think that it is no longer needed at  
this stage. On the time presses  
harder than anything else. Since  
they have dropped the red baring of  
talk, the struggle for real political  
power ~~has~~ will be more openly  
admitted & commented on. This will  
tend to drive Moderates & Moderns into  
action vs. joint. Situation is clearer.  
Less deception possible by selfish  
elements. ∴ They will tend to shrink  
out of sight & be less vocal & more  
fearful of their future.

Moderates feel a little more important & more apt to take a strong stand & hold it. They realize that they have made go the wrong round. They see that they did this by stepping to the left. ∴ will tend to remain there & hold the position that gave them more power & ∴ more satisfaction & more esteem among their countrymen. They have been hungry for some public approval. Sir S. H. has given them none. So they will not easily swing. Moderates under will also begin to want more public approval.

The announcement of a definite date for communal award indicates that the Govt was beginning to be afraid of consequences of further delay.

The fact that rumors are beginning of  
joint negotiations with Congress shows a  
realization in U.S. as well as India &  
England that joint is growing weaker.  
These attempts began in 1930 several  
months before final consummation.

One might turn J. loose after  
~~first~~ announcement of first draft of  
new Bill, but I doubt that unless  
communal situation or total boycott  
gets too severe for her to manage.

---

Mr. D has the great ambition to  
be the man who settled the European  
situation & the Indian troubles.  
That will make him cling to his job &  
therefore prevent him from being bold  
or generous in India.

If Sibley & a big section of Moderns begin h.c.o. they will do it thoroughly, - as Layzell & all, I guess. So if not as Layzell, then a lot of resignations from front posts or sabotage on jobs.

If row starts between Sibley & Moderns this will find an echo in army & somewhat in police.

---

Aug 18. Today's paper reports that both Congress & Modern leaders are saying very little about the British award in the communalist dispute, tho the Congress papers are strong against it. This may mean that these leaders are going to unite to unit it all together. It certainly indicates that Moderns are not much pleased & that they realize the viciousness of their next steps. I like

the silence better than wild talk.

Saying hard & angry things as  
MacDonald is the same sort of mistake  
that Bulmer made in shooting Fitch.  
Capitalists & statesmen, as much as  
criminals in Sing Sing, are the product  
of the capitalist <sup>of society</sup> ~~structure~~ &  
capitalist scheme of values. The  
individuals are not to blame but only  
indirectly & slightly.

Willingdon's silence & all the  
talk coming from Hoare & Mac Donald  
indicates who is dictating policy. W. is  
too old a man to run the show & is  
also probably afraid of Gandhi. As  
this has been noted in Bombay Chronicle,  
the Moderates will be repelled by

realization of Tory <sup>control</sup> ~~power~~. While MacD  
 was at Sansone the Tories did the job,  
 June 21. The A.P. description of the award  
 says nothing about distribution of ad-  
 ministrative posts, or Sind or several  
 of the other Muslim demands. If the  
 award itself was also silent on these,  
 the chances of a Muslim breakaway  
 are much greater.

The recent statement in The Times that there  
 may be a <sup>further</sup> rise of Indian tariffs as Br. cloth  
 shows how desperately hard up India is, or  
 else that Govt is yielding to make a bargain  
 with Indian textile interests. Perhaps the  
 Sikhs' "rights" <sup>Aug<sup>15</sup></sup> ~~Aug<sup>1</sup>~~ was reason why the commu-  
 al award was announced on the 16<sup>th</sup>

If Sikhs riot or Muslims that will  
 tend to make trouble in the army.

Aug 22. From L. Times it seems that  
London is watching the Sikhs & Muslims  
pretty closely. The return of Shafi Dawood  
to Muslim Conf together with presence of  
extreme Sikhs looks as if either they  
have both been convinced & brought off or  
else that they are planning for joint  
action vs Govt & have the hodge on the  
reactionary Muslims. If it either would be  
cause for notice in the Times. It remains  
to be seen which happens. The sending  
of Bengalis to Andamans will harden  
Hindus everywhere & perhaps all the  
Congress elements.

---

India may require a couple of  
years more of leadership before she  
becomes sufficiently unified to get her  
freedom. But the process will work.

perfectly steadily & because it is an organic growth, the results will be solid.

---

If Britain's chief desires from India are money and prestige, she must come to feel a money loss and be sure that it is permanent; and ~~come~~ to lose her prestige in the very act of holding and see that she can gain more world respect by letting go. By telling the world just what is doing in India, she may be made to feel a loss of prestige. Write to A. P. and F. P.

---

<sup>its results</sup>  
Ottawa may increase the strength of opposition to the Govt in England & make it easier for India. India delegates work at Ottawa ensures continued Indian

mercantile chambers opposition to Govt.  
One more proof that Gov. Br. is using  
India for Br. ends entirely. But

It is said in March 9 that the  
taxation of <sup>Br</sup> food agreed to at Ottawa  
will not cause resignations of Liberals  
from the Cabinet. Are they staying because  
of India? If so, it means that in  
order to hold onto India all Br parties  
are allowing the Tories to dominate  
in all other matters of policy as  
well as in India. There is no effective  
opposition on any points. So the  
tariffs will stay up & probably trade  
will decrease. Unemployment is nearly  
as high as it ever was. So labour  
feeling will grow more bitter. The  
breakaway of the I.L.P. does not

seem to me a mistake, for the old Soborn  
Party have lost its soul. The debt conversion  
may help the finance but I don't think  
it helps the trade much. It doesn't help  
the Irish & Indian problems much. In  
Ireland & India the Tories will make  
mistakes continuously. With lack of  
effective political opposition the policies  
will get to a very unreal plane.

---

The creation of untouchables as separate  
electorates in so many places will anger  
all Hindus & strengthen Congress.

---

I in my teaching have each boy read  
Graham Wallas "Art of Thought", John  
Dewey's "How We Think", and Abbe's  
Dinnest, "Art of Thinking". Also Dinnest's  
"What men have done".

In my class Struggle chap insert  
a footnote reference to my column books  
showing that Gandhi is a practical  
constructive or program, or else  
put in a para for my pamphlet

---

While Br are busy erecting a new  
facade of painted partition in India,  
behind and underneath the moral and  
<sup>probably the</sup> financial forces are cutting away all its  
possible supports. Br. think that by  
erecting the machinery & prolonging the  
terror and flattering and bribing certain  
individuals they can make the govt  
run later. But the process is ruining  
their own moral position in the world, is  
ruining the position of those whom they  
are bribing and flattering in the eyes of  
both Indian masses and all decent politically

awakened ones. The group of selfish schemers is not large enough and clever enough <sup>to stay enough</sup> to run the show alone, and the longer <sup>the</sup> British stay by and run it in support of them, the more inept and weak they become.

---

Re my book on L.V.R., Ch. on Individual War, could people say that inasmuch as war always includes rape that we must discuss rape & show that this protects us that before we can advocate this as a substitute for war? Had cases make bad law, ~~as~~ says the legal maxim.

---

If Gregory is right in saying that Ottawa has caused both a loss of moral prestige and of economic strength of Gp. B. then it will have reactions during the autumn in England

Also the reported bitterness ~~between~~<sup>between</sup> Canada and  
Br. emperors and the comment by Smuts  
look as if it was a failure that would  
develop into a greater loss than gain.

If the only thing that holds back  
the Indian peasants from revolt is the  
lack of leaders, then a rise in  
commodity prices will not save the  
Br. power but only prolong the struggle.  
When Congressmen are released the  
peasants will get their leaders. When  
the Bill to reform Indian Constitution  
is introduced into Parl. the discussion  
re India will begin again in England &  
the contending forces of banking & trade  
will come into the open. Then the  
Indian opposition will begin to be  
talked about and felt by the public.

An ashram is a place of religious service and discipline

---

Apropos of Jenkins letter to March 9<sup>th</sup> re I.C.S. & Sir S. Hoare, that will be read by some I.C.S. people in India. Also it will cause further doubts in Br. minds at home. The censorship in England puts inequality on all Br. thinking & detracts from Br. self-assurance. I believe India was one cause of Ottawa failures. It is a slow process, public education on national questions. This was may take 4 yrs, but 2 of them have gone.

Myself write an article on I.C.S. state of mind. They know there is censorship in England & ∴ that Br. support is fictitious & that they must rely on themselves in India. Also they realize

that Indian support and acquiescence  
is steadily slipping away from them,  
& that when the whole thing is  
revealed they cannot get support  
from home. They see Willingdon's  
weakness, too. When the D.C.S. one  
gets not only discouraged but  
hopeless, it will crumple and then  
the show is over. The March 9.  
article will be read by some Indian  
Liberals & they will suspect, too, &  
realize more of Hoare's duplicity.

---

~~We are~~ ~~if we~~ We may  
compare the mind to the region of  
invisible light, the instincts to the  
infra-red part of the spectrum, the  
intuition to the ultra-violet. Medita-  
tion then would be like using a

fluoroscope or photographic plate to  
register or record the ultra violet rays.

---

Perhaps put a footnote in my next  
to last chapter giving some of some  
evidences & indication

---

In my Nation article (Aug 31 issue) I  
ought to have said that the <sup>repetition of the</sup> largest  
group of Moslems (Khyber) had also  
requested joint elections, so that  
the communal award goes counter to  
requests of majority of Moslems, depressed  
classes & women.

---

Like war & a big strike, a new  
struggle is a big public education, but  
the teaching grounds faster, goes further  
changes of belief are greater and  
& is more lasting because the contrasts

1  
between conduct of the 2 parties is sharper,  
a more stirring <sup>stoking</sup> <sup>a more battle</sup> to the feelings.

If the Manchester cotton strike gets ~~complete~~ big & runs several weeks & then is defeated, the bitterness will do quite a little to turn people on the Govt or at least split the parties & ~~withdrawn~~ prepare the ground for a later split on India. Will perhaps give Japan a further chance in India. The Jap threat to stop buying Indian cotton may have effect on K. & may compel stoppage of preference to Br.

When the Parliamentary debates on the new India Bill begin, and the divisions of opinion in England open up to the

public eye, the I.C.S. in India will read of it in home papers and will become still more discouraged.

It was somewhat significant to have so Tory a sheet as The Observer noting that Willington was taking his orders so clearly from Whitehall. That too will be read by some I.C.S. and trouble them. They will begin before long to feel a bit isolated. The Tories begin to quarrel among themselves. Tory dissatisfaction with Baldwin as well as MacDonald may mount. Was it significant that H. G. Wells denounced the King publicly without much reaction on himself?

---

The attempts of the Br to sting and at Indians now is based on a belief

that they can cripple India after the  
crash, just as they did Russia. But  
they forget that Br. was not defeated  
after the Russian Revolution, nor U.S.  
nor France nor Italy, etc. But after  
the Indian revolution Br. will be defeated  
& ∴ ~~the~~ Br. assertions will not carry  
much weight, & will grow less &  
less important as years go on & people  
realize the meaning of the defeat.  
Like Buddhas line is dust & spit, the  
criticisms will blow back on G. Br. &  
nobody here in eyes of world

---

Ottawa has perhaps rather helped  
nor harmed Br. for immediate future  
very much. But I suspect it is on edge  
in her subsequent decline. G. Br. is  
making much money & gold from

India & that will help her to to  
bear the sting of defeat.

But that gold flow does not help  
Indians to have Ru. & ∴ weakens the  
political power of Ru. If it impoverishes  
India very much it will slow down the  
development of Indian industry & compel  
further development of Gandhi.

In both the Class War & Polit Change  
must the need of a truly constructive  
day by day program if we are to  
avoid bitterness & frustration. K is  
good for Ec; Daily discipline in  
u.v. and love and concentration on local  
(material) small organization work or  
neighborhood service is excellent.

1  
Though in our Indian News Bulletin  
I am not trying to rouse indignation  
against Britain the British I do tell  
of police atrocities (1) gradually to get  
our readers to respect the Indians very  
greatly, (2) to <sup>help</sup> get our readers to under-  
stand how and why the right of these  
things turns Indians who are not  
Congressmen in favor of the Congress and  
against the Govt, and (3) to make our  
readers value the contrast between  
British Govt words and deeds and  
the hollowness of Govt declarations.  
It is not necessary to be angry as  
people in order to take away our  
support of them. Get people to support  
the truth.

---

1) If attitudes of Princes puts more diffi-

cultures in way of Federation, & <sup>majority of</sup> Moderates as well as Moderates & Sikhs refuse cooperation, the Govt will ~~perhaps~~ probably try to jam a "provincial autonomy" bill through, but the Indian opposition will ~~increase~~ increase the for "safeguards" so much that even Moderates who formerly favoured "provincial autonomy" will oppose the bill. Such a state will probably make I.C.S. men hopeless ~~rather~~ & then the show will last, if police make a requisition from routine administrative services have not already begun.

---

The ~~chance~~ <sup>opportunity</sup> to drain Indian gold will cause Br. financiers to hold out India as long as they possibly can, & thus to cause a more complete break than would otherwise have happened.

It is interesting to note that the  
govt, ~~on Aug 10~~ announced the date of publication (Aug 12)  
of its communal award on Aug 10, the  
day after the L. Times announced that  
Mohans & Sikhs were having a love  
feast & all was going beautifully. Then  
the ~~love~~ Sikhs broke away <sup>evening</sup> on Aug 13,  
announced in Times of Aug 15. Govt  
of course had to stick to its schedule.  
But perhaps it very greatly regrets  
now that it could not have postponed  
until things were patched up <sup>again</sup> by  
entree w. Sikhs & Mohans.

---

Aug 29 Kozamdi points out the  
changes to make in my next revision of  
Ec of K. p. 141 should not have phrase  
"stay capitalistic". India cannot  
stay capitalistic & also adopt Chakla &

N.V.R. wholeheartedly. p. 147 emphasizes  
 the necessity for continuation of Charkha &  
 N.V.R. Also the idea that when power  
 must be used <sup>for</sup> & controlled by masses. p. 153.  
 He says that unless peasants use N.V.R.  
 the Charkha program is n.g. because  
 whatever they save by the wheel the  
 capitalistic govt will seize. Also he  
 says the peasants will accept Charkha  
 as a weapon of struggle but not as a  
 mere chance to earn money. He says  
 that is the reason why output of R  
 has risen so much at each time of  
 struggle '21, '30 & '32. Charkha is  
 part of faith. But I doubt this  
 last argument. I think it is because  
 people realized the imperialism &  
 were anxious to defy govt & to follow  
 Gandhi at those times & supported

the movement. I think always the  
peasants have been ready to adopt it  
as fast as it would be demonstrated  
to the product purchased.

Korotki ~~say~~ agrees with me that  
Soviets are wrong about violence.  
He says they have by education &  
needed out the idea of private  $\pi$ .  
[But not actually wrong unlike Rosa]  
Advises reading chapters in S. Chav's  
book by D. M. & Douglas on forms  
of organization & chapters on educa-  
tion. He says they are not highly  
centralized.

He says that they would be  
even less centralized if they were  
not so military & so afraid of an  
attack on Russia &  $\therefore$  as demon-  
quintely to make themselves in

preparable. He says their military program is not mentioned but it is that which has interfused with 5 yr plan. Turk-Sik. By strategic & political, - to control Chinese Turkestan & Mongolia.

Romantic says that the real founder of Jainism was Prashva, preceding Mahavira, and 300 yrs before Buddha. Lived at Benares & that is why Brahmins have been so strongly attracted to Benares. Prashva was the first to enunciate laws of ahimsa <sup>his</sup> "Four rules, all negative, - non-killing, non-stealing, non-lying, non-possession. Buddha took them over but improved them by making them all positive, - love all, give to all, tell the truth, etc. Christ made a further advance by working out allowing disciples to

body  
work. Tolstoi added the positive  
command of body labor, but did not  
get it adopted. Gandhi kept  
all 5 rules positive and made them  
all usable & used in mass action.

But Karamba thinks Gandhi is  
weak in not being clear enough  
about the goal & form of  
unity. Since was clear here.  
Also that Gandhi flirts too much  
with rich men & Br. politicians  
& takes communal differences too  
seriously. Says masses are doubtful  
of Gandhi because of this. Fears  
that he will betray them.

I doubt Karamba here because  
actually Gandhi did not betray  
the masses at N.T.C. when the  
pressure on him was brought,

nor did he bring any matter of  
 commensalism. It may be that he is  
 not too close as to intimate details  
 of society, but the method will  
 care for that.

Koromili says that because India  
 does not feel the desperate need for  
 haste that Bolsheviks have, ∴ India  
 does not adopt violence & ∴ will  
 win a greater victory than the Soviets.  
 But India might well win if she  
 could, despite Bayn.

Koromili says Satyagraha has  
 changed the Indian police & that  
 in 1930 they apologized to him  
 for all they did & £200 of them  
 in Bombay refused to beat in. Sills  
 & only when he brought in  
 ruffians from outside & filled

them with liquor and they attack.  
He says I was wrong in saying  
that police in country districts get  
out of control of Br. He says they  
only do these things when Br  
urge them on. But that does  
not square with my report.  
I think Kozanin is relying too  
much on 1930 conditions.

He says Willingdon & wife  
are kindly people, but that  
W is caught in the machine  
but has not Irwin's advantage,  
namely the personal friendship  
of Stanley Baldwin.

---

I think that good and  
desire for large organization are  
loosely linked & i. that they

keeping my possessions very simple & few  
 I am doing part of the work of living  
 out the new & better scale of values.  
 Voluntary poverty<sup>is</sup> necessary to a new  
 world.

Gandhi has faith that by going  
 up hill he will win people's trust.  
 Capitalists do not have that faith.  
 I need to strengthen that faith in  
 myself. ~~Understand~~ on this is to  
 understand that spiritual law.

---

Ramulu thinks Gandhi too much of  
 a Hindu & is all wrong about Gita. He also  
 thinks he is too Nationalistic, not enough  
 out & out for masses & internationalism.

Tells of a Jataka story which says  
 that ruler of knowledge should take it  
 from everyone, like a beggar.

or read

I would like to get ~~just~~ a copy of  
Buddhism in Translation, the Jataka  
Stories, <sup>secret of the golden flower!</sup> Chinese Mysticism books trans-  
lated by Jung, Patanjali, Creative Understanding,  
Keyring; Indian Philosophy - S Radhakrishnan;  
you; Mysticism Evelyn Underhill;  
Intuition & Intuition - Geo. B. W. White;  
From Intellect to Intuition - Alice G. Bailey -  
Dutton Publ. Co. N.Y.C. 1932. Also her Soul &  
Its Mechanism, A Treatise on Cosmic Fire, The  
Light of the Soul.

When the Bs say they think Gandhi  
is more of a politician than saint, that  
is just a way of expressing their  
dislike of him. A tribute to his  
strength. The way of opposition is  
usually first silence, then ridicule,  
then <sup>contempt</sup> anger, then violence, then silence  
again, then hatred, and after defeat  
more hatred and vituperation.

The New Yorker 23 West 45<sup>th</sup> St N.Y.C.

---

Perhaps one reason why English  
 & Europeans ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> <sup>after</sup> so ironical &  
 cynical is ~~the~~ because of the depression  
 coming after so much fighting &  
 anger.

---

Now that other Indian groups have  
 begun to non-cooperate, ~~at~~ they will be  
 gradually driven to adopt Congress  
 methods & attitudes, partly because of  
 what the Br. will do to them, partly  
 because of their human desire to justify  
 themselves and gain respect of other Indians  
 just as Congress has gained respect,  
 partly from force of imitation, partly  
 out of necessity for action. Gradually,  
 as the whole country moves that way

their fears <sup>may</sup> ~~will~~ become less and their  
retaining concepts of constitutionalism  
will become modified. no

It is interesting to note that peasants  
in many places are venting strongly.  
Somewhat sporadic in some places but  
enough to keep Br. on qui vive and  
to keep the ordinaries & ordinance  
frame of mind going.

Bennett's talk about 20 years of  
repression shows what Br. in London  
are considering. Twenty years is a  
generation in India and would  
secure complete opposition & hatred  
of England. Also such a prospect  
will serve to dishearten the I.C.S.,  
I believe. It shows that ~~some~~ Br.  
politicians realize the depth & power  
of Indian Nationalism.

Sept 2. The resignation of 2 Sikhs and 1 Hindu Mahasabha R.T.S. is the upshot to date of the communal award. England held her ~~own~~ ground with Moslems, apparently, but lost elsewhere. The real <sup>purpose</sup> ~~meaning~~ of the award is clear to all Indians. But remember that I.M.C. walked out of Moslem Conf. & the Moslem Independent Party started before this. Even among Moslem communalists England lost ground & faith. What will happen in Bengal communities?

The sending of troops to Bengal in autumn is not to protect officials, as it will be done immediately; It is a threat & partly perhaps to bolster up police morale. It is a confession of failure of police ~~control~~ <sup>administration</sup> in those districts. Police there will probably try to load work onto soldiers.

Salthouse's slip at Churchill & die-hards is  
the opening gun of the Parl. & Cabinet  
struggle over India. Promptly answered.  
Admission of "formidable" strength of Churchill  
will be read with interest in India.  
Will help keep Indian Liberals away.  
Some of the things that will be said <sup>publicly</sup> in  
the struggle will educate Indians &  
discourage I.C.S. men. Remember  
Baldwin's remark. There may be a break  
among the parties over India. Only  
way it can be prevented is by all  
staying conservative, i.e. no <sup>university</sup> self-govt to  
India. So if they break apart they lose  
India; if they stick together they lose  
India too because they will disappoint  
all Indians except landlords.

The reaction of Indians to troops in Bengal  
& deportation to Andamans will be steady

hardening as Britain. Continuance of Ordinances will have inevitable effect.

The sending of troops to Bengal may easily result in another Amritsar.

---

Re foreign comment re  
Paul Cohen Portier - England.

Discovery of Europe.

Mansoor - England, & America  
Siegfried - England, & America

---

Benny's talk (of p 136 above) shows that Be. realize the Indian situation is more than Gandhi alone. That report ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> of Benny's words repeated in Indian papers will help to unify several <sup>Indian</sup> groups there.

---

It is interesting to note that the

81  
evolutions of both Sikhs and <sup>as.</sup> Modern  
Conference urge friendly relations with  
other communities. ~~The about~~  
England's hopes for violence in India  
are waning.

---

In true non-cooperation you  
must also refuse to accept the  
benefits, real or fancied, of the  
system ~~as~~ which you are non-  
cooperating.

---

Dope out & apply some of the  
known devices & facts of crowd  
psychology to mass N.V.S.

Voluntary poverty is a strong  
sign of a pure heart.

---

Eastern system of education, accent on individual, has produced all the great religious leaders. Eastern education has neglected the masses.

---

John A. Bailey - "From Intellect to Intuition" - Swiss Publ. Co. Inc. 1932  
 p. 54. "The intellect in man is that factor or quality of soul-awareness which enables him to orient himself to his environment during the stages in which his personality is under development, but which later, through proper meditation, enables him to orient himself toward the soul, as detached from the mechanism, and thus, therefore, toward a new state of awareness of being."

p. 57. "Prayer, plus disciplined self-  
ness, produces the Uptya.  
Meditation, plus organized dis-  
ciplined sense, produces the  
Knesser. The Uptya, as we have  
earlier seen, sees divine realities,  
contacts (from the heights of his  
aspiration) the mystical vision and  
longs earnestly for the constant  
repetition of the ecstatic state to  
which his prayer, adoration and  
worship have raised him. He is  
usually quite unable to <sup>repeal</sup> ~~produce~~  
this intuition at will. --- In  
meditation, the reverse is the case, and  
through knowledge and understanding  
the illuminated man is able to  
enter at will into the kingdom  
of the soul, and to participate

(desired)

intelligently in its life and states of con-  
sciousness. One method involves the  
emotional nature and is based on  
belief in a God who can give, the  
other involves the mental nature  
and is based on belief in the divini-  
ty of man himself, though it  
does not reject the 'unaided  
premises of the other group.'

p. 75, "The world is not a prison  
house but a spiritual kindergarten,  
where millions of benighted children are  
trying to get God's

To concentrate is the expressive  
power of a new affection to crowd  
out all other things. Also be  
concentrated in all you do each day.  
Use "red-thoughts"

1  
(Calkins & Watson methods of education)  
p. 117. "One school teaches its students  
to gain control of the instrument of  
thought before anything else is done,  
to discover the existence of this instru-  
ment through primary failure in  
control, and then, through concentra-  
tion and imitation, to achieve facility  
in forcing the mind to be one-  
pointed in any direction. The other  
school posits the possession of some-  
thing that is called the mind,  
and proceeds then to fill it with  
information, and to train the  
memory aspect to be retentive, and  
the content of that memory to be  
easily available to the student.  
From this stage a relatively few  
in number pass on to a real use

of the mind through a profound interest  
in some science or some way of living,  
but the majority never attain  
mind control."

(But the throne is controlled with the  
mythic) "He studies the mind; he tops  
it verifiably and focuses it; he seeks  
out the good; he divorces himself  
from feeling and is not interested in his  
own personal satisfaction, for the mind  
is the 'common sense', and in its  
highest use is devoted with the faculty  
of synthesis, of wholeness. He will, as  
Dr. Miller - Frazer puts it, 'no  
longer speak of his' soul, but of the  
universal soul which manifests itself  
in him, and unfolds itself in him  
as in all other creatures, and will  
endure even through this illusion of

individuality, principles. . . . He will  
live his life as 'life', that is, as  
self-valuation and self-completion,  
| with the consciousness that it is not  
merely his own self that is being  
valued and perfected, but the  
universe, the deity, of whom this  
apparent self is a part! "

p. 217. The beginner should assume  
the attitude of silence. "Aspirants  
to meditation talk much about the  
opposition they meet from their  
family and friends; the husband  
objects to his wife meditating, or  
vice versa; sons and daughters are  
inconsiderate and thoughtless in  
interrupting the devotions of the  
parent, friends are unsympathetic at  
the attempts. &c. &c. But it is

say nothing about the way we are acting  
to unfold the spiritual consciousness;  
that is entirely our own affair. Let  
us keep silent about what we are  
doing. Let us keep our books and  
papers shut away from people, and  
not litter up the family sitting  
room with a lot of literature in  
which they are not the least inter-  
ested."

2. A. out try to make mind blank.  
Do not try <sup>your</sup> breathing exercises, silently  
not until after much inner preparation  
& purification & peace is attained  
(in meditation).  
p. 133. "The key to success lies in  
constant and unswerving practice. Often,  
in our work with students all over the  
world, we find the brilliant mind  
coming out second, because it lacks

persevering effort, and the more ordin-  
ary mind ~~is~~ suddenly breaking  
through into the realm of overclouded  
knowledge, and leaving its more  
brilliant brother behind, because  
it possesses the capacity to keep  
going on. Sporadic efforts get  
the important nowhere; in fact  
they are definitely harmful,  
inasmuch as they breed a  
constant sense of failure. A little  
consistent and faithful work  
done every day, over a long period of  
time, will bring results infin-  
itely greater than enthusiastic  
but sporadic efforts. -- "the steady  
unswerving pressure of the will",

"Another point to be remembered is  
that the last person to appreciate

the result of his work is the student himself. The goal he has set himself is so wonderful, that he is more apt to be discouraged than satisfied. The only wise thing to do is to put all thought of eventual results and their phenomenal effects entirely out of the mind definitely, once and for all, and simply follow the ancient rules. This must be done without a constant checking of oneself as by the roots to see how one is growing. Those around us will know much and truly what progress we are making by our increased efficiency, self-control, stability and helpfulness. We have found it wise to gauge the growth of a student in the mat-

sta.  
of  
work

itation work by the extension of  
his field of vision and by the  
things his friends say of him,  
rather than by his own reports  
about himself. Our work is to  
go steadily forward, doing the  
demanded task 'without slack-  
ness' as the Hindu aspirant  
calls it."

240

"The fundamental law  
governing all meditational work is  
the ancient one formulated by  
the sages of India centuries ago,  
that 'every thing follows thought'."

241--

"It will be apparent, therefore,  
that the man who is learning to  
meditate must endeavor to do  
two things: First: He must  
learn to 'bring through' into his

mind and then interpret correctly what he has seen and contacted, and later transmit it correctly and accurately to the attentive and impressionable brain. Thus the man, in physical waking consciousness becomes aware of the things of the Kingdom of God.

"Second: He must learn the nature of the energies he is contacting, and train himself to utilize them correctly. A practical illustration of this can be given here, and one universally recognized. We are swept by urges or irritation. Instinctively we begin to shout. Why? Emotional energy has us in its grip. By learning to control the energy of the spoken

word we begin to master that particular type of emotional energy.

"In these two ideas of right interpretation and right transmission, and of right use of energy, the whole study of the meditation work is summed up. It becomes apparent also what is the problem confronting the student, and why all wise teachers of the technique of meditation urge upon their pupils the need of care and slow procedure."

p. 258. "Some most worthy people have also a settled conviction that celibacy must always accompany the life of the spirit. May it not be possible that the true celibacy to which the ancient

rules are intended to refer against  
 the attitude of the soul, or spiritual  
 man, to the world, the flesh, and  
 the devil, as our Christian Scrip-  
 tures put it? May not the  
 true celebrity have reference to our  
 abstaining from all appearance of  
 evil? [It may have reference to the  
 direction of desire, or the matter of attach-  
 ment to fruit of works (goodness), to effec-  
 tiveness]. ---

p. 254 "If the goal of our effort is to  
 demonstrate God immanent in form,  
 then no level of consciousness is more  
 intrinsically divine than another,  
 and divinity can be expressed in all  
 human relations. If a married man  
 or woman cannot <sup>attain</sup> ~~achieve~~ illumina-  
 tion and achieve the goal, then

there is something more and divinity cannot express itself on one plane, at least, of expression; to put it in terms that may sound blasphemous but which will enable us to grasp the futility of these reasonings; God is defeated in one part of His Kingdom.

265 "What is to be the result of all our effort? Personal satisfaction or a joyous heaven of endless rest and beatitude? God forbid. The work in the world goes on; the cry of humanity rises from the depths and mounts to the very throne of God Himself. From the heart of the temple of God, to which we may have fought and crested our way, we

turn back and work on earth. We  
 rest not in our endeavor till the  
 hail of the world's riches has  
 found his way home."

---

The boycott, 'it is n.g. against  
 goods of one nation, for ~~other~~ they  
 come in nevertheless & are palmed off  
 as goods of another nation. E.g. Br.  
 cotton cloth in India is sold as Japanese.  
 So must boycott all such goods except  
 those that are home made.

---

Check up places where soldiers are to be  
 stationed in Bengal to see if they are  
 where peasants have been strong & also  
 where ~~some~~ attempts to murder officials have

A reason for voluntary poverty is that if we are to non-cooperate with the pecuniary system of values we must do without & give up its supposed benefits, as well as ceasing cooperation in other ways. If we are going to rely on real trust we should do so, & stop the accumulation of false symbols of pecuniary prestige.

---

It is quite possible for the suffering in a struggle of N. V. R. to be <sup>more intense</sup> ~~worse in quality~~ than that of war because we have developed a good deal of chivalry toward prisoners and enemy wounded, and highly organized hospitals & red cross work on both sides give excellent <sup>all</sup> care to the wounded. But prison hospitals are



1  
Idarion, Miss Kite, Pasikelandra M.  
Patel, P.O. Box 4838, Johannesburg, T.V.L. South  
Africa.

---

In my big N.V.R. struggle we state  
the workers will lose their  $\pi$  anyway, so  
they might as well adopt voluntary power  
at the start. Then they will not have  
anything to fear on that score.

"Synthetic Projective Geometry" - Schinner,  
Ginn & Co. Short. OK. For F. Schinner

---

John Chipman Gray wrote "the real  
rules of a society are undiscoverable".  
Quoted in H. J. Laski's Problem of Sover-  
eignty, p. 17. This fits with my theory of  
values as the real control.

Silence, ridicule, <sup>contempt</sup> anger, violence, — are stages of attempts at suppression by the ruling power.

---

A mastery of the use of symbols is probably one of the important reasons for the endurance and power of the Roman Catholic Church.

---

Sept 13. Gandhiji's hunger strike will have a profound effect on Hindu Mahasabhas & on Indian Moderates. May bring about a union of all parties in India.

---

Sept 16. The news that Viceroy is talking <sup>unacceptable</sup> to us if Mahatma's strike can't be called off shows that B. & Co. realise some of unfortunate results if he should die. Scandal. D. is a monkey

7  
to pretend excitement is as to hoodwink the  
Hindus? I think not, also that Hindus  
won't be hoodwinked. So with that  
sign of great weakness we may hope

May not <sup>bitterness</sup> ~~bitterness~~ be a sign of  
unconscious recognition of one's own  
lack of strength or courage? If so,  
& if Gandhi's lies to India boys, I  
must not become bitter. I am to  
gulf & strengthen there.

Gandhi's fact simplifies the whole  
issue, - the Empire vs the poorest of the  
peasants, personified in Bapu. Material  
power vs. soul force, ~~material~~ militarism  
vs. n.v.r. The thing is not muddled  
through in 3 days as it was with  
Chait. It has been a 13 year old

struggle and it comes now to a crisis. The dying itself will last through 3 weeks. So the ~~men~~ people in the world who have consciences will understand the meaning of the thing. <sup>so it will be understood instantly in India & result will be vastly amplified in mass of X</sup> Gandhi is showing a different sort of leadership for the Indian poor rather different from that professed by the British Conservatives and Government officials. This is rather more clear cut. The struggle of non-violence will be very powerful in India. The act will solidify & vastly enhance the scattered collective morale of the Congress and give it an immediate rallying point. It will shame the Indian business men; - Birla, for instance.

If Gandhi dies the example of his bravery, the realization by Indians that

it is a brave act than any English  
statesman would do, will do much to  
break the spell among Indians of Br.  
prestige, the ~~to~~ feeling that Indians are  
not as brave as Englishmen. Indians  
will come to face.

The Br. government tries to make  
Gandhi's <sup>appeal</sup> appear merely as a piece of Hindu  
tactics. It is more than that.

By fighting for the Corbet, Gandhi  
is fighting the principle of communal  
electorates (divide & rule) all along  
the line, for every community.

Shah bay says Shariat Ali &  
Amirulha became great friends at 1880.

Gandhi's idea of non-violence is very  
like Bala's doctrine of doing good

"in minute particulars". Connected also with idea that means & end are one, that each step to the goal must be taken by right method in order to reach a right goal.

The communal award is a violation of the Montagu declaration of Br. policy in 1917.  
 ∴ Gandhi is fighting for ~~uphold~~ Br. honor as well as for untouchables.

Sept 19. The adverse criticism of Gandhi in Servants of India, reported in Saturday M. Times shows the violation of the Indian Moderates at being deprived again <sup>also the stupidity of intellectuals & their desire to exploit masses</sup> of their sense of leadership. Ambassadors' mollifying remarks are interesting. Presumably caused by sections among such & full of untouchables or by clarification of his prior stupidity, or perhaps by approaches

made to him by Hindus. Or even by  
Muslims.

---

It is possible that only Gandhi's  
death will startle Indians into  
realizing their folly and make strong  
& solid the determination of the Congress.

---

Sept 24. If Br. Govt <sup>within next 3 days</sup> yields, as I expect  
they will, Gandhi will recover, there will  
be greater unity among Hindus; a <sup>renewed</sup> sense of G's  
power, both among Indians and British; a  
purification of Congress; an enhancement of  
Congress morale; a renewal of Indian,  
especially Congress, determination to win &  
to be worthy of their leadership; a strengthening  
of idea of non-violence; a strengthening of  
Indian women's opposition to Govt. The  
Indian groups which began non-cooperating

as the part of the award will be strengthened in their opposition. Possibly the opposition to Gout may be enhanced as a result. Presently there may develop an Indian movement toward unity among all parties, born out of the narrowness of their escape and their necessity for Gandhi to lead them out of their trouble & of their weakness due to quarrels. The faith of parents in Gandhi's sincerity will be enhanced.

---

Do not attack Davis again in Bulletin, or any other press. Further reveals his loss the cleverness of whole machine.

---

The fact has focused the attention of the world once more on India, has raised queries re the action there, has made the world gain entire G's power,

has again lived in the minds the g.  
 less we are going to make the consti-  
 tution work after it is all completed.

Meanwhile the chance of a further  
 split among the parties increases.  
 If that happens before or during Parl,  
 as result of Ottawa or Lipton Report,  
 then India will be in better position.

---

Sept 25. It may be that Gandhi's bad hand  
 was the result of some focus of infection,  
 probably teeth, induced by over fatigue at  
 Gordon. The fact will clear that out. Such  
 a focus <sup>of poison</sup> would account for his present  
 nausea and dizziness. In that event he  
 will be all the stronger for his fast and  
 more able to lead the nation when he comes  
 out of prison.

Sept 26. Gandhi's successful fast sets the  
 the Govt prestige back. It is a clear  
 defeat for Govt & a vindication of India  
 at same time. Tagore's coming to  
 Poona shows the depth of his feeling &  
 this will stir all Bengal, too. The  
 Indian peasantry will have renewed faith in  
 Gandhi. He will be champion of their just  
 & must persevere advise Gandhi's courage.  
 A change of Br. heart. The favorable  
 reaction of American papers is a big  
 advance. It heightens the interest in India.  
 Perhaps will make Roman's book a  
 market.

---

G's fast & victory will greatly stimulate  
 Indian imagination for dreads, & probably  
 ventures.

is victory, rather deflate. But, minus  
the Viceroy's announcement of Sept 5 re  
what Govt will do re <sup>putting</sup> ordinances into legis-  
lation. If it does that it will end  
the chances of reconciliation w. Congress  
a getting Congress to assent to the Con-  
stitution.

Much will happen before <sup>winter or</sup> spring of 1933  
which is safest that new India bill  
can be introduced into Parl. If Cabinet  
breaks up on  $\mathbb{E}$  Free Trade, the chances for  
opposition in Eng & India will  
greatly increase.

---

Some soldiers escape suffering.  
All n.v. veterans have to suffer, either  
in body, fortune, regard or estimation  
of friends, or some other way.

Sept 29. The agreement produced by Gandhi's  
 fast reduces Ambedkars strength and  
 increases that of the Rajah group, because  
 Ambedkars had to yield separate electorates.  
 Probably it is clear in India how much he is a  
 tool of Govt. Also his attitude of <sup>moral</sup> ~~moral~~ <sup>superiority</sup>  
 toward Gandhi will put him in wrong with  
 most of the Indians.

Gandhi has always said that removal  
 of untouchability is necessary for swaraj.  
 It remains to be seen how far the  
 agreement will be implemented.

Gandhi has demonstrated to the  
 world again his moral power over India  
 & that he can check Govt. India office  
 probably never before in all its history  
 stood up all right. He has proved  
 & reminded the Govt. that somehow they  
 have got to ~~make~~ reach an agreement

with him is the Congress. ~~Before the~~  
The "Gandhi myth" has not been  
ended but re-invigorated. He has  
proved his courage, will power, & that  
he means what he says. He will be  
more careful what they try on him  
again. He has increased American  
respect for him, as shown by Amer-  
ican editorials.

The effect on the actual position of  
untouchables remains to be seen. Clearly  
this position is improved to some  
degree. The Hindu leaders may try  
to wriggle out of the concessions,  
but if they get funny, Gandhi  
will fight against them, too.

Presumably Congress prestige will  
be enhanced along with Gandhi's.  
Also its morale will be purified.

Tagore's going to me G in jail is significant  
of a shift of attitude of Bengali intellectual  
minds.

The shift in Br. cabinet will probably  
make Indian Moderates feel more insecure  
& doubtful about going to London in  
November.

There will be a lot more thinking<sup>in India</sup> about  
the ends of communalism.

In W. A. White's Mechanism of  
Character Formation. p. 31 he quotes  
"Herich has said 'the various degrees or  
grades of consciousness are expressions of  
increasingly higher forms of the coordina-  
tion of forces.'"

"Clear consciousness does not accom-  
pany reaction to stimuli when the  
issue in conflict can only occur in a

single direction, when there are no alternatives. Conscience is an expression, as it were, of conflict. It arises in response to stimuli under conditions that make it possible to react by a choice of a line of conduct in any one of many directions.

p. 41, <sup>part</sup> Disting. Bergson's Creative Evolution

p. 179. "Conscience" throughout the whole extent of the animal kingdom, we have said, conscience seems proportionate to the living being's power of choice. It lights up the zone of potentialities that surround the act. It fills the interval between what is done and what might be done. Looked at from without, we may regard it as a single act to action, a light that action kindles, a momentary spark flying up from the friction of real

action against possible actions." [1] This  
 is so, ought not the theory of probability  
 to be an important part of every  
 education? ]

p. 114. "The man who expresses abhor-  
 rence for a certain act, is much nearer  
 the possibility of such an act himself  
 than is he who can view it undisturbed  
 and with a judicial attitude of mind,  
 he therefore must summon all his  
 reserves to escape it."

p. 110. "At the symbolic level a symbol,  
 such as patriotism, is capable of trans-  
 muting and transforming an enormous  
 amount of energy into very numerous  
 and complex avenues of conduct of  
 individual and nations. The sym-  
 bol is a transmitter and transformer of  
 energy."

p. 111. (The fly & attraction) ... "in some way  
this enormous energy is bound up in  
the symbol. The symbol is a  
transmitter and transmitter of energy at  
this level just as the reflex arc, the  
ion, or the lever are at lower  
levels."

p. 113. "Money as a symbol of energy.  
~~The great value of the symbol is~~  
~~not only a sign of development of use~~  
~~of energy.~~ " Herein we see the most  
important function, the greatest value  
of the symbol. It is not only a  
transmitter of energy but it is capable  
of transmitting energy from a lower  
to a higher level."

Work out the effect of J's part on Indian  
opinion & action in other parts of com-  
munal award. In women, Anglo Indians, Indian  
Christians, Moslems, Europeans, <sup>moderate</sup>, landlords,  
<sup>parents</sup>.

J's part will tend to end ~~some~~ Congress  
workers to villages to clean up untouchabil-  
ty. Effect on untouchables themselves.  
Effect on Ambedkar.

Perhaps one reason for Western over-em-  
phasis on large size is - quantity instead of  
quality - is an inner weakness. ~~Exhaust~~  
~~become~~ Want outer vigour because there is  
no inner greatness.

When boys have to earn their living from  
the start - they learn to do the things that  
create trust. Possession of money enables people  
to not do those things for some time.

Socialists say that environment determines men's thinking. This is true only if we include ideas as a part of the environment. Proven by the propaganda of the Soviets to educate their own people.

### Study Class in History of Chinese Culture

Wednesday Evenings, Room 355 Little Building, Boston

T'IENTSE CHANG, Research Fellow of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Leader

- |                                                                                |                                                                                                              |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I. <i>Ancient Period</i> (from the legendary time to 256 B. C.)                | 17. Chinese culture in the "Dark Ages" (220 A. D. to 581 A. D.)                                              |
| 1. A historical sketch of the period                                           | III. <i>The Sui-T'ang Flourishing Period</i> (581 to 907 A. D.)                                              |
| 2. The origin of Chinese writing and the early Chinese literature              | 18. A historical sketch                                                                                      |
| 3. The culture of Chow Dynasty                                                 | 19. The education and examination system                                                                     |
| 4. Feudalism                                                                   | 20. The literary renaissance                                                                                 |
| 5. Taoism                                                                      | 21. The unchallenged position of Confucianism                                                                |
| 6. Confucianism                                                                | 22. The flourish of Buddhism                                                                                 |
| 7. The School of Law                                                           | 23. Mohammedanism. Nestorianism                                                                              |
| 8. The other schools of political thoughts                                     | 24. Fine arts, music and architecture                                                                        |
| 9. The development of family system                                            | 25. Astronomy. Medicine                                                                                      |
| II. <i>The Chinese Middle Age</i> (257 B.C. to 581 A.D.)                       | IV. <i>The Modern Period</i> (907 A.D. to the present)                                                       |
| 10. A historical sketch                                                        | 26. A historical sketch                                                                                      |
| 11. The Magicians                                                              | 27. Dramas and novels                                                                                        |
| 12. The triumph of Confucianism                                                | 28. Mongols, Manchus and Chinese culture                                                                     |
| 13. Introduction of Buddhism into China                                        | 29. The Chinese governance—the underlying principles, organization and functioning of the Chinese government |
| 14. The Taoist religion (not to be confused with Taoism) versus Buddhism       | 30. Chinese culture and its problems arising from China's contact with the West                              |
| 15. Literature, fine arts, music and architecture                              |                                                                                                              |
| 16. Social customs (ancestor worship, marriage, funeral rites, costumes, etc.) |                                                                                                              |

T'IENTSE CHANG was born in a literary family in Amoy, South China. As a youthful patriot, he actively participated in the student movement which has left a remarkable record in the turbulent history of the Chinese Republic. In 1926, he graduated from Yenching University, Peking, and about two years later he received his Master's degree in history from the same university. Then he went to Europe where he studied both in Paris and in Leiden, Holland. While studying at Leiden, he gave some courses on Chinese history and civilization.

# If You Had Asked Me

If you had asked me  
I could not have said  
Which is the greater,  
Beauty or bread.

For he who has sweet bread  
All the day long  
Is never troubled  
By beauty's song.

And he will go happily  
Even in rain  
And never feel wonder  
Or know any pain.

But those who love beauty  
Will suffer alone  
Hurt to their heart's core  
By a small grey stone.

And they will see wonders  
Under the skies  
Were never seen  
By other eyes.

If you had asked me  
I could not have said  
Which is the greater,  
Beauty or bread.

DUNCAN EMRICH

If my pamphlet gets  
published, send copies to <sup>Warren S.</sup> Thompson,  
Sonica McClary, May, Edmund  
Wilson of N.R., Margaret Marshall  
Nation, Bradford, H. J. L., Middleton  
Murray, Lucien, Pygmalion, send  
J.L.P. people, Romaine Holland,  
James M. Powers, John Dewey,  
Stuart Chase, ~~Walter Dill~~  
~~is interested in~~, Harvard Library  
H.H., Congregational Library, Columbia  
Univ. Library, W.P. Pullis Library,  
Norman B. Mrs. Winslow, Lewis  
Mumford, Sherwood Anderson, V.F.  
Calverton, Darius, Eugene O'Neill  
John D. O'Parrish, Heywood Brown,  
B.B. Russell, H.J.L., Horstman, Fanny  
Bruckner, H.N. Bradford, Prof. Dewey,  
R. Holland, M.  
Rogers Baldwin, Scott Weir, Francis Joubert,  
International Home, Deane Allen, Mackay,  
Hilky Page, Margaret Marshall, Wilson of N.R.,  
Edgerton, Clark, Commensal, Ltd. Dewey,

Re my pamphlet, carte

is perhaps an element of  
stability in India, along with small-scale  
organization. Chinese family & Hindu joint  
family are also small organizations.

A nation in modern sense is very  
largely an organization for violence.

When the force is removed from India, there will be a revolution of the proletariat that will sweep away the Indian capitalists. The further yielding of Indian Moderates to the pressure may be an indication of the increase of proletarian pressure from below that makes ~~them~~ them cling to the B. as their only salvation.

---

Gandhi: A creator of new values.  
Gandhi and New World Values.

---

The Tories were foolish to pass those resolutions re. Indian freedom now, just before the R.T.C., when Indian unity was increasing. Also the news about Gandhi's staying.

By accepting Gandhi's value, in  
 way of creating trust by work, the  
 working class will do what they are  
 already skilled at doing. This is  
 a proletarian value, and in handling  
 it the masses will do better than  
 the ruling class.

---

The Bhagavad Gita - Commentary by  
 Franklin Edgerton, Open Court 1925, \$1.00  
 557 East Chicago Ave., Chicago

- "Man and His Becoming of the Vedanta", by  
 René Guénon, trans. by Chas. Whitney, London,  
 Rider & Co., 10/6 as a reminder, by Haffer, Cambridge
- "Introduction Générale à l'étude des Doctrines Hindoues  
 de l'Inde Vêda 43, Rue Madame, Paris
- "Orient et Occident" by René Guénon, 1 vol  
 Maister Eckhart - 2 vols. trans. by C. de B. Evans  
 Wither, London, 1934.
- All recommended by Coomaraswamy.

The cooperative movement goes on  
the basis & assumption of large-scale  
operation.

---

Of the 5 value controls mentioned in  
my pamphlet, Socialism retains 4 &  
Communism 5. ∴ They are not such  
fundamental changes, after all, maybe

---

Those who think the future lies with  
the proletarian are really casting about  
for new values. Gandhi's values are really  
proletarian.

Gandhi: A Creator of New Values  
Gandhi and New World Values.

---

A State founded on N.V. could  
dispute with closely knit, highly  
centralized <sup>political</sup> organizations. And if it

standard economic competition I could  
not need large economic organization  
either.

---

Commonwealth and that in the  
Civil ambition is considered a deadly  
sin; perfection more important than  
progress.

---

Gyrate says tell me that Gyralis  
does not allow invested endowment funds  
for the Widgith or his other insti-  
tutions. Say it makes the adminis-  
trators careless of serving <sup>the</sup> public. ~~but~~  
If an institution really serves it will  
find public support as long as its  
service is real and strong. If it fails  
to serve it ought to die. <sup>single that, also</sup> applies to private  
enterprises, too.

---

Where you find God in others and

act is toward them, you begin to find  
him in yourself. If you deny him  
in others and act so, he will not be  
valued by you in yourself.

---

Until moral values & relations get  
right the literary mind who are  
sensitive will remain troubled. The  
new values will arise from being lived,  
not from literature. The inner atti-  
tude prevailing among a large number  
creates the new values, and presently  
the new values are perceived.

---

The civilization and Havelock Ellis  
and Hegel's, "Fundamental of a  
Philosophy"

---

When values die, after they have

repeatedly appeared.  
 symbols of the former unity, e.g. Mr.  
 Crown, Clusters  
 —

Keeping silence about some opposing force  
 is one way to oppose it.  
 —

U.V.R. gives new meaning to the  
 name gentleman.  
 —

Of these great things, Gandhi says, hold  
 back India from going, - untouchability,  
 Hindu-Muslim quarrel, failure to adopt modern  
 A big step now taken on 1st of these. Hindu  
 is growing, the slowly; and H-M quarrel  
 gradually approaches solution.

## A Letter to a

## Revolutionary

I HOLD that the world is sick of armed rebellions. I hold too that whatever may be true of other countries, a bloody revolution will not succeed in India. The masses will not respond. A movement in which masses have no active part can do no good to them. A successful bloody revolution can only mean further misery for the masses. For it would be still foreign rule for them. The non-violence I teach is active non-violence of the strongest. But the weakest can partake in it without becoming weaker. They can only be the stronger for having been in it. The masses are far bolder today than they ever were. A non-violent struggle necessarily involves construction on a mass scale. It cannot therefore lead to *tamas* or darkness or inertia. It means a quickening of the national life. That movement is still going on silently, almost imperceptibly, but none the less surely.

I do not deny the revolutionaries the heroism and sacrifice. But heroism and sacrifice in a bad cause are so much waste of splendid energy and hurt the good cause by drawing away attention from it by the glamour of the misused heroism and sacrifice in a bad cause.

I am not ashamed to stand erect before the heroic and self-sacrificing revolutionary because I

am able to pit an equal measure of non-violent men's heroism and sacrifice untarnished by the blood of the innocent. Self-sacrifice of one innocent man is a million times more potent than the sacrifice of a million men who die in the act of killing others. The willing sacrifice of the innocent is the most powerful retort to insolent tyranny that has yet been conceived by God or man.

I invite the attention of the revolutionaries to the three great hindrances to Swaraj—the incomplete spread of the spinning-wheel, the discord between Hindus and Mussalmans and the inhuman ban upon the suppressed classes. I ask them patiently to take their due share in this work of patient construction. It may not be spectacular enough. But on that very account it requires all the heroic patience, silent and sustained effort and the self-effacement of which the tallest among the revolutionaries is capable. Impatience will blur the revolutionary's vision and lead him astray. Slow and inglorious self-imposed starvation among the starving masses is every time more heroic than the death on the scaffold under false exaltation.—*Mahatma Gandhi in Young India, February 12, 1925.*

It is hardly possible that at the Nov. R.T.C. the Indian Moderates may talk in public on Ordinances, demand Gandhi's release. Not likely. Or may get treated rough by Home & other Tories, and resign. Not likely. Possibly between now (Oct 15) and then some beans may get spilled which will stop their going. Unlikely.

There are two planes of the struggle. The Constitutional plane is only superficial. But in the moral, the people's, struggle there has as yet been no defeat. Only a drawn battle with every now and then India winning additional points. Home & Viceroy have tacitly admitted the drawn <sup>struggle</sup> struggle. Soldiers in Bengal, <sup>signifying</sup> ~~several~~ of Ordinances etc in proof of Congress ~~struggle~~ strength.

N objects to X's command about taking  
thought for the morrow, etc. Thinks no one  
should be dependent; everyone can think  
<sup>justified that anyone should work</sup>  
over money. But must the guy always  
be in money? E.g. Elwin is doing  
valuable work. Enough people paid  
for more than they are worth. Why  
should they not contribute to support  
few Elwins? There will always be  
enough selfish ones earning lots of  
money, as a few unselfish Elwins  
etc., will not be condemned. If X's  
command were to all, it was also based  
on a common training and the possibility  
of work, and into him that he should  
be given etc. X was also a carpenter &  
a worker.

Voluntary <sup>implicitly</sup> (force) is an individual's  
step toward the unity of communism

The long continued violence and oppression and false talk of the <sup>in</sup> India is driving the nation into all Indians of all classes except the very few cowardly capitalists. So when the change comes it will be swift & sure. The presence of Gandhi & of his method saves the country from despair & from violence. It disciplines everyone.

To break up old value controls you do not have to be skillful in them. Simply understand what they are & how they operate; put them aside; refuse to accept their benefits (as far as possible), and keep busy creating the new values.

N's mistake with the girls was partly in giving them so much money and privilege that they got corrupted and thought they

did not have to be careful always, in every detail, to do what would create trust, & to be unselfish. That treatment is bad for all children or immature people.

---

Oct 15. Most big wars have lasted about 4 to 5 years. Maybe Indian struggle will conform to this. Perhaps this is connected with the financial cycle, with coming of a new generation whose inner attitudes were formed during the period of stress. Perhaps it has some psychological connection with the time necessary to discourage people, or the time necessary to establish new disciplines. Patel thinks it will take many years. Somehow I doubt it.

all people judge others by themselves.  
 and the finer that self, the kinder the  
 judgment. So X said he did not  
 judge people at all, i.e. did not adverse-  
 ly criticise. the finer the self, also,  
 the truer the judgment, for the finer  
 the judge the more clearly does he see  
 the Selves in every man. G. Kalin and  
 Paran o Suran.

---

V. J. Patel of American Express,  
 25 Broadway.

---

England does not object to Japan's  
 doings because they are so similar to  
 her own in India.

The Sexual Side of Marriage, N. J. Exner,  
 N. D., Allen & Unwin 6s.

Index

Indian style 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 26, 30, 41, 43, 45-50  
-53, 53, 54, 55, 57-62, 63, 65-70, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 95, 96-100, 103-109,  
104-113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120-23, 124-26, 131, 132, 134, 135, 139, 139, 155, 159, 160-1  
163, 166, 167, 168, 169, 171, 175, 178, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189.

K.V.R. 3, 6, <sup>16</sup>24, 27, 32, 36, 39, 41, 42, 62, 85, 92, 108, 128, 129, 131, 134, 140, 169,  
177, 180, 182,

K.V.R. Book 4, 11, 17, 29, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 55, 62, 92, 93, 108, 114, 115, 119, 123,  
140, 156(2), 158, 159,

Ec of K. 1, 21, 22, 27, 29, 53, 71, 78, <sup>86</sup>126-7, 140, 162,

Education 7, 26, 28, 35, 39, 70, 76, 87, 91, 100, 102, 113, 133, 139, 175, 181, 187,

Sadhana 10, 16, 17, 23, 31, 36, 62, 76, 85, 91, 92, 95, 118, 132, 133, 140, 141-155, 158,  
158, 160, 181, 186, 189,

Garden 8, 35, 70, 117, 130, 133, 134, 140, 162, 166, 181, 184, 189.

my pamphlet 3, 5, 9, 16, 17, 28, 30, 33-4, 35, 53, 62, 63, 64, 65, 71, 72, 78,  
84, 91, 128, 130, 132, 141, 156, 158, 159, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 187

162,

Psychology 18, 26, 33, 42, 44, 118,

Sex 3, 25, 189

Scale of organization 5, 16, 175, 177, 180,

Addresses 6, 8, 62, 90, 91, 135, 158, 189

Analogy of India & Ireland 6, 19,

Books 8, 16, 25, 31, 40, 80, 86, 134, 158, 179, 182, 189,

Quotations 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 23, 25, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 39, 71-88, 93, 100-102,  
141-155, 168, 171-174, 176, 177, 184,

India, general 12

Diet & health 13, 18, 40, 86, 144,

Plans 45, 64, 117, 119, 165,

(over)

Symbolism 31, 159, 173, 174, 182,

Higher math 158,

Machinery & civilization 20, 21, 44, 86, 87, 162, 176, 177, 182,

Capitalism 27, 36, 44, 62, 71-85, 180,

Money 62, 74, 174, 175, 186,

Stats 157, 177,

Art,

Mayratt 85, 155, 140, p 162,

Simplinty 158, 186, 140, 156, 162,

Party 178,

Good 162,

Khadi 162

